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THE
HISTORY

OF THE
REIGN

OF THE
EMPEROR CHARLES V.

By WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D. D.

PRINCIPAL of the University of EDINBURGH, and HISTO-
RIOGRAPHER to his MAJESTY for SCOTLAND.

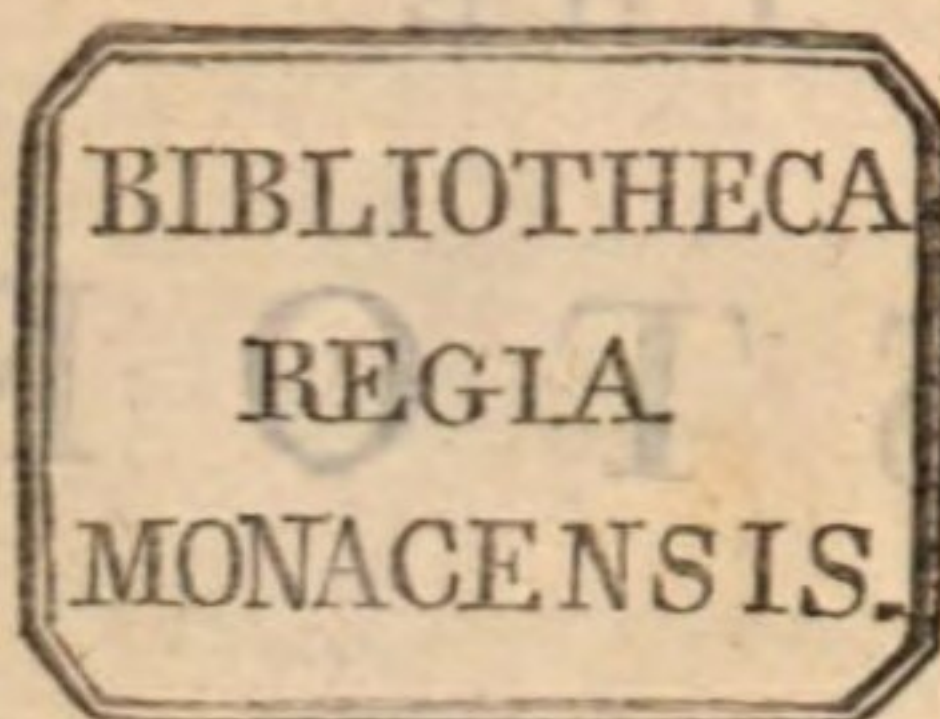
A NEW EDITION.

VOL. III.

BASIL:

PRINTED BY J. J. TOURNEISEN.

M DCC LXXXVIII.



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M D C C X X V I I I

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK V.

THE account of the cruel manner in which the Pope had been treated, filled all Europe with astonishment or horror. To see a Christian Emperor, who, by possessing that dignity, ought to have been the protector and advocate of the holy see, lay violent hands on him who represented Christ on earth, and detain his sacred person in a rigorous captivity, was considered as an impiety that merited the severest vengeance, and which called for the immediate interposition of every dutiful son of the church. Francis and Henry, alarmed at the progress of the Imperial arms in Italy, had, even before the taking of Rome, entered into a closer alliance;

BOOK V.

1527.

General indignation excited against the Emperor.

VOL. III.

B

BOOK V. and, in order to give some check to the Empe-
1527. ror's ambition, had agreed to make a vigorous
diversion in the Low Countries. The force of
every motive which had influenced them at that
time, was now increased; and to these were
added, the desire of rescuing the Pope out of
the Emperor's hands, a measure no less politi-
cal, than it appeared to be pious. This, how-
ever, rendered it necessary to abandon their
designs on the Low Countries, and to make
Italy the seat of war, as it was by vigorous
operations in that country, they might promise
most certainly upon delivering Rome, and set-
ting Clement at liberty. Francis being now
sensible, that, in his system with regard to the
affairs of Italy, the spirit of refinement had
carried him too far; and that, by an excess of
remissness, he had allowed Charles to attain ad-
vantages which he might easily have prevented,
was eager to make reparation for an error of
which he was not often guilty, by an activity
more suitable to his temper. Henry thought
his interposition necessary, in order to hinder
the Emperor from becoming master of all Italy,
and acquiring by that means such superiority of
power, as would enable him, for the future, to
dictate without controul to the other princes of
Europe. Wolsey, whom Francis had taken
care to secure by flattery and presents, the cer-
tain methods of gaining his favour, neglected

nothing that could incense his master against the Emperor. Besides all these public considerations, Henry was influenced by one of a more private nature; having begun about this time to form his great scheme of divorcing Catherine of Aragon, towards the execution of which he knew that the sanction of papal authority would be necessary, he was desirous to acquire as much merit as possible with Clement, by appearing to be the chief instrument of his deliverance.

Book V.
1527.

THE negociation, between princes thus disposed, was not tedious. Wolsey himself conducted it, on the part of his sovereign, with unbounded powers. Francis treated with him in person at Amiens, where the Cardinal appeared, and was received with royal magnificence. A marriage between the Duke of Orleans and the Princess Mary was agreed to as the basis of the confederacy; it was resolved that Italy should be the theatre of war; the strength of the army which should take the field, as well as the contingent of troops or of money which each prince should furnish, were settled; and if the Emperor did not accept of the proposals they were jointly to make him, they bound themselves immediately to declare war, and to begin hostilities. Henry, who took every resolution with impetuosity, entered so eagerly into this new alliance, that in order to give

Confederacy
against him,
July 11.

Aug. 18,

BOOK V. Francis the strongest proof of his friendship and
 1527. respect, he formally renounced the ancient claim
 of the English Monarchs to the crown of
 France, which had long been the pride and ruin
 of the nation; as a full compensation for which,
 he accepted a pension of fifty thousand crowns,
 to be paid annually to himself and his succefsors¹.

The Florentines recover their freedom.

THE Pope, being unable to fulfil the conditions of his capitulation, still remained a prisoner under the severe custody of Alarcon. The Florentines no sooner heard of what had happened at Rome, than they ran to arms in a tumultuous manner; expelled the Cardinal di Cortona, who governed their city in the Pope's name; defaced the arms of the Medici; broke in pieces the statues of Leo and Clement; and declaring themselves a free state, re-established their ancient popular government. The Venetians, taking advantage of the calamity of their ally the Pope, seized Ravenna, and other places belonging to the church, under pretext of keeping them in depofite. The Dukes of Urbino and Ferrara laid hold likewise on part of the spoils of the unfortunate Pontiff, whom they confidered as irretrievably ruined².

¹ Herbert, 83, &c. Rym. Fœd. 14. 203.

² Guic. l. xviii. 453.

TO LANNOY, on the other hand, laboured to de- Book V.
rive some solid benefit from that unforeseen 1527.
event, which gave such splendour and superiority The Impe-
to his master's arms. For this purpose he rial troops
marched to Rome, together with Moncada, and inactive.
the marquis del Guasto, at the head of all the
troops which they could assemble in the king-
dom of Naples. The arrival of this reinforce-
ment brought new calamities on the unhappy
citizens of Rome; for the soldiers envying the
wealth of their companions, imitated their
licence, and with the utmost rapacity gathered
the gleanings, which had escaped the avarice of
the Spaniards and Germans. There was not
now any army in Italy capable of making head
against the Imperialists; and nothing more was
requisite to reduce Bologna, and the other towns
in the ecclesiastical state, than to have appeared
before them. But the soldiers having been so
long accustomed, under Bourbon, to an entire
relaxation of discipline, and having tasted the
sweets of living at discretion in a great city
almost without the controul of a superior, were
become so impatient of military subordination,
and so averse to service, that they refused to
leave Rome, unless all their arrears were paid;
a condition which they knew to be impossible.
At the same time, they declared, that they
would not obey any other person than the Prince
of Orange, whom the army had chosen general.

BOOK V. Lannoy, finding that it was no longer safe for
 1527. him to remain among licentious troops, who despised his dignity, and hated his person, returned to Naples; soon after the marquis del Gualto and Moncada thought it prudent to quit Rome for the same reason. The Prince of Orange, a general only in name, and by the most precarious of all tenures, the good-will of soldiers whom success and licence had rendered capricious, was obliged to pay more attention to their humours, than they did to his commands. Thus the Emperor, instead of reaping any of the advantages which he might have expected from the reduction of Rome, had the mortification to see the most formidable body of troops that he had ever brought into the field, continue in a state of inactivity from which it was impossible to rouse them³.

The French
 army
 marches
 into Italy.

THIS gave the King of France and the Venetians leisure to form new schemes, and to enter into new engagements for delivering the Pope, and preserving the liberties of Italy. The newly restored republick of Florence very imprudently joined with them, and Lautrec, of whose abilities the Italians entertained a much more favourable opinion than his own master, was, in order to gratify them, appointed gene-

³ Guic. l. xviii. 454.

ralissimo of the league. It was with the utmost Book V.
 reluctance he undertook that office, being un- 1527.
 willing to expose himself a second time to the
 difficulties and disgraces which the negligence
 of the King, or the malice of his favourites
 might bring upon him. The best troops in
 France marched under his command, and the
 King of England, though he had not yet de-
 clared war against the Emperor, advanced a
 considerable sum towards carrying on the expe-
 dition. Lautrec's first operations were prudent, His opera-
 vigorous, and successful. By the assistance of tions.
 Andrew Doria, the ablest sea-officer of that age,
 he rendered himself master of Genoa, and re-
 established in that republick the faction of the
 Fregosi, together with the dominion of France.
 He obliged Alexandria to surrender after a short
 siege, and reduced all the country on that side
 of the Tesino. He took Pavia, which had so
 long resisted the arms of his sovereign, by assault,
 and plundered it with that cruelty which the
 memory of the fatal disaster that had befallen
 the French nation before its walls naturally in-
 spired. All the Milanese, which Antonio de
 Leyva defended with a small body of troops,
 kept together, and supported by his own address
 and industry, must have soon submitted to his
 power, if he had continued to bend the force
 of his arms against that country. But Lautrec
 durst not complete a conquest which would

8 THE REIGN OF THE

BOOK V. have been so honourable to himself, and of such
 1527. advantage to the league. Francis knew his confederates to be more desirous of circumscribing the Imperial power in Italy, than of acquiring new territories for him, and was afraid that if Sforza were once re-established in Milan, they would second but coldly the attack which he intended to make on the kingdom of Naples. For this reason he instructed Lautrec not to push his operations with too much vigour in Lombardy; and happily the importunities of the Pope, and the sollicitations of the Florentines, the one for relief, and the other for protection, were so urgent as afforded him a decent pretext to march forward without yielding to the intreaties of the Venetians and Sforza, who insisted on his laying siege to Milan⁴.

The Emperor sets the Pope at liberty.

WHILE Lautrec advanced slowly towards Rome, the Emperor had time to deliberate concerning the disposal of the Pope's person, who still remained a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. Notwithstanding the specious veil of religion with which he usually endeavoured to cover his actions, Charles in many instances appears to have been but little under the influence of religious considerations, and had frequently on this occasion expressed an inclina-

⁴ Guic. l. xviii. 461. Bellay, 107, &c. Mauroc. Hist. Venet. lib. iii. 238.

tion to transport the Pope into Spain, that he might indulge his ambition with the spectacle of the two most illustrious personages in Europe successively prisoners in his court. But the fear of giving new offence to all Christendom, and of filling his own subjects with horror, obliged him to forego that satisfaction⁵. The progress of the confederates made it now necessary either to set the Pope at liberty, or to remove him to some place of confinement more secure than the castle of St. Angelo. Many considerations induced him to prefer the former, particularly his want of the money requisite as well for recruiting his army, as for paying off the vast arrears due to it. In order to obtain this he had assembled the Cortes of Castile at Valladolid about the beginning of the year, and having laid before them the state of his affairs, and represented the necessity of making great preparations to resist the enemies, whom envy at the success which had crowned his arms would unite against him, he demanded a large supply in the most pressing terms, but the Cortes, as the nation was already exhausted by extraordinary donatives, refused to load it with any new burden, and in spite of all his endeavours to gain or to intimidate the members, persisted in this resolution⁶. No resource, therefore, remained but the extorting

Feb. 11.

⁵ Guic. l. xviii. 457. ⁶ Sandov. i. p. 814.

BOOK V. from Clement, by way of ransom, a sum sufficient for discharging what was due to his troops, without which it was vain to mention to them their leaving Rome.

NOR was the Pope inactive on his part, or his intrigues unsuccessful towards hastening such a treaty. By flattery, and the appearance of unbounded confidence, he disarmed the resentment of cardinal Colonna, and wrought upon his vanity, which made him desirous of shewing the world, that as his power had at first depressed the Pope, it could now raise him to his former dignity. By favours and promises he gained Morone, who, by one of those whimsical revolutions which occur so often in his life, and which so strongly display his character, had now recovered his credit and authority with the Imperialists. The address and influence of two such men easily removed all the obstacles which retarded an accommodation, and brought the treaty for Clement's liberty to a conclusion, upon conditions hard indeed, but not more intolerable than a prince in his situation had reason to expect. He was obliged to advance in ready money an hundred thousand crowns for the use of the army; to pay the same sum at the distance of a fortnight; and at the end of three months, an hundred and fifty thousand more. He engaged not to take part in the war against Charles,

either in Lombardy or in Naples; he granted him a cruzado, and the tenth of ecclesiastical revenues in Spain; and he not only gave hostages, but put the Emperor in possession of several towns, as a security for the performance of these articles⁷. Having raised the first moiety by a sale of ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, and other expedients equally uncanonical, a day was fixed for delivering him from imprisonment. But Clement, impatient to be free, after a tedious confinement of six months, as well as full of the suspicion and distrust natural to the unfortunate, was so much afraid that the Imperialists might still throw in obstacles to put off his deliverance, that he disguised himself the preceding night in the habit of a merchant, and Alarcon having remitted somewhat of his vigilance upon the conclusion of the treaty, he made his escape undiscovered. He arrived before next morning at Orvieto, without any attendants but a single officer; and from thence wrote a letter of thanks to Lautrec, as the chief instrument of procuring him liberty⁸.

Book V.
1527.

Dec. 6.

DURING these transactions, the ambassadors of France and England repaired to Spain, in consequence of the treaty which Wolsey had

Overtures of
the Emperor
to Francis
and Henry.

⁷ Guic. l. xviii. 467, &c. ⁸ Guic. l. xviii. 467, &c. Jov. Vit. Colon. 169. Mauroc. Hist. Venet. lib. iii. 252.

BOOK V. concluded with the French King. The Empe-
 1527. ror, unwilling to draw on himself the united
 forces of the two Monarchs, discovered an in-
 clination to relax somewhat the rigour of the
 treaty of Madrid, to which, hitherto, he had
 adhered inflexibly. He offered to accept of the
 two millions of crowns which Francis had pro-
 posed to pay as an equivalent for the dutchy of
 Burgundy, and to set his sons at liberty on con-
 dition that he would recall his army out of Italy,
 and restore Genoa together with the other con-
 quests which he had made in that country.
 With regard to Sforza, he insisted that his fate
 should be determined by the judges appointed
 to inquire into his crimes. These propositions
 being made to Henry, he transmitted them to
 his ally the French King, whom it more nearly
 concerned to examine, and to answer them;
 and if Francis had been sincerely solicitous either
 to conclude peace, or preserve consistency in his
 own conduct, he ought instantly to have closed
 with overtures which differed but little from the
 propositions which he himself had formerly
 made*. But his views were now much changed;
 his alliance with Henry, Lautrec's progress in
 Italy, and the superiority of his army there
 above that of the Emperor, hardly left him
 room to doubt of the success of his enterprize

* Recueil des Traitez, 2. 249.

against Naples. Full of those sanguine hopes, he was at no loss to find pretexts for rejecting or evading what the Emperor had proposed. Under the appearance of sympathy with Sforza, for whose interests he had not hitherto discovered much solicitude, he again demanded the full and unconditional re-establishment of that unfortunate prince in his dominions. Under colour of its being imprudent to rely on the Emperor's sincerity, he insisted that his sons should be set at liberty before the French troops left Italy, or surrendered Genoa. The unreasonableness of these demands, as well as the reproachful insinuation with which they were accompanied; irritated Charles to such a degree that he could hardly listen to them with patience; and repenting of his moderation, which had made so little impression on his enemies, declared that he would not depart in the smallest article from the conditions which he had now offered. Upon this the French and English ambassadors, for Henry had been drawn unaccountably to concur with Francis in these strange propositions, demanded and obtained their audience of leave ¹⁰.

Book V.

1527.

NEXT day, two heralds, who had accompanied the ambassadors of purpose, though they had hitherto concealed their character, having

1528.

January 22.

¹⁰ Rym. 14. 200. Herbert 85, Guic. l. xviii. 471.

BOOK V. assumed the ensigns of their office, appeared in
 1528. the Emperor's court, and being admitted into
 They de- his presence, they, in the name of their respective
 clare war masters, and with all the solemnities customary
 against the on such occasions, denounced war against him.
 Emperor. Charles received both with a dignity suitable to
 his own rank, but spoke to each in a tone adapted
 to the sentiments which he entertained of
 their sovereigns. He accepted the defiance of
 the English Monarch with a firmness tempered
 by some degree of decency and respect. His
 reply to the French King abounded with that
 acrimony of expression, which personal rivalry,
 exasperated by the memory of many injuries
 inflicted as well as suffered, naturally suggests.
 He desired the French herald to acquaint his
 sovereign, that he would henceforth consider
 him not only as a base violater of publick faith,
 but as a stranger to the honour and integrity be-
 coming a gentleman. Francis, too high-spirited
 to bear such an imputation, had recourse to an
 uncommon expedient in order to vindicate his
 character. He instantly sent back the herald
 with a *cartel* of defiance, in which he gave the
 Emperor the lie in form, challenged him to
 single combat, requiring him to name the time
 and place of the encounter, and the weapons
 with which he chose to fight. Charles, as he
 was not inferior to his rival in spirit or bravery,
 readily accepted the challenge; but after several

Francis
 challenges
 the Emperor
 to single
 combat.

messages concerning the arrangement of all the circumstances relative to the combat, accompanied with mutual reproaches, bordering on the most indecent scurrility, all thoughts of this duel, more becoming the heroes of romance than the two greatest Monarchs of their age, were entirely laid aside ¹¹. BOOK V.
1528.

THE example of two personages so illustrious drew such general attention, and carried with it so much authority, that it had considerable influence in introducing an important change in manners all over Europe. Duels, as has already been observed, had long been permitted by the laws of all the European nations, and forming a part of their jurisprudence, were authorized by the magistrate on many occasions as the most proper method of terminating questions with regard to property, or of deciding in those which respected crimes. But single combats being considered as solemn appeals to the omniscience and justice of the Supreme Being, they were allowed only in publick causes, according to the prescription of law, and carried on in a judicial form. Men accustomed to this manner of decision in courts of justice, were naturally led to apply it to personal and private quarrels. Duels, which at first could be appointed by the

The effect
of this in
promoting
the custom
of duelling.

¹¹ Recueil des Traitez, 2. Mém. de Bellay, 103, &c.
Sandov. Hist. 1. 837.

BOOK V. civil judge alone, were fought without the interposition of his authority, and in cases to which the laws did not extend. The transaction between Charles and Francis strongly countenanced this practice. Upon every affront, or injury which seemed to touch his honour, a gentleman thought himself entitled to draw his sword, and to call on his adversary to make reparation. Such an opinion introduced among men of fierce courage, of high spirit, and of rude manners, when offence was often given, and revenge was always prompt, produced most fatal consequences. Much of the best blood in Christendom was shed; many useful lives were sacrificed; and at some periods, war itself hath hardly been more destructive than these contests of honour. So powerful, however, is the dominion of fashion, that neither the terror of penal laws, nor reverence for religion, have been able entirely to abolish a practice unknown among the ancients, and not justifiable by any principle of reason; though at the same time it must be admitted, that, to this absurd custom, we must ascribe in some degree the extraordinary gentleness and complaisance of modern manners, and that respectful attention of one man to another, which, at present, render the social intercourses of life far more agreeable and decent than among the most civilized nations of antiquity.

WHILE

WHILE the two Monarchs seemed so eager to terminate their quarrel by a personal combat, Lautrec continued his operations which promised to be more decisive. His army, which was now increased to thirty-five thousand men, advanced by great marches towards Naples. The terror of their approach, as well as the remonstrances and the entreaties of the Prince of Orange, prevailed at last on the Imperial troops, though with difficulty, to quit Rome, of which they had kept possession during ten months. But of that flourishing army which had entered the city, scarcely one half remained; the rest, cut off by the plague, or wasted by diseases, the effects of their inactivity, intemperance, and debauchery, fell victims to their own crimes¹². Lautrec made the greatest efforts to attack them in their retreat towards the Neapolitan territories, which would have finished the war at one blow. But the prudence of their leaders disappointed all his measures, and conducted them with little loss to Naples. The people of that kingdom, extremely impatient to shake off the Spanish yoke, received the French with open arms, wherever they appeared to take possession; and Gaeta and Naples excepted, hardly any place of importance remained in the hands of the Imperialists. The prefer-

Book V.
1528.
Retreat of
the Impe-
rialists from
Rome.
February.

¹² Guic. l. xviii. 478.

BOOK V.

1528.

French be-
siege Naples.

vation of the former was owing to the strength of its fortifications, that of the latter to the presence of the Imperial army. Lautrec, however, sat down before Naples, but finding it vain to think of reducing a city by force while defended by so many troops, he was obliged to employ the slower, but less dangerous method of blockade; and having taken measures which appeared to him effectual, he confidently assured his master, that famine would soon compel the besieged to capitulate. These hopes were strongly confirmed by the defeat of a vigorous attempt made by the enemy in order to recover the command of the sea. The gallies of Andrew Doria, under the command of his nephew Philippino, guarded the mouth of the harbour. Moncada, who had succeeded Lannoy in the vice-royalty, rigged out a number of gallies superior to Doria's, manned them with a chosen body of Spanish veterans, and going on board himself, together with the marquis del Gualto, attacked Philippino before the arrival of the Venetian and French fleets. But he, by his superior skill in naval operations, easily triumphed over the valour and number of the Spaniards. The viceroy was killed, most of his fleet destroyed, and Gualto, with many officers of distinction, being taken prisoners, were put on board the captive gallies, and sent by Philippino, as trophies of his victory to his uncle¹³.

¹³ Guic. l. xix. 487. P. Heuter. lib. x. c. 2. p. 231.

NOTWITHSTANDING this flattering prospect of success, many circumstances concurred to frustrate Lautrec's expectations. Clement, though he always acknowledged his being indebted to Francis for the recovery of his liberty, and often complained of the cruel treatment which he had met with from the Emperor, was not influenced at this juncture by principles of gratitude, nor, which is more extraordinary, was he swayed by the desire of revenge. His past misfortunes rendered him more cautious than ever, and his recollection of the errors which he had committed, increased the natural irresolution of his mind. While he amused Francis with promises, he secretly negociated with Charles; and being solicitous, above all things, to re-establish his family in Florence with their ancient authority, which he could not expect from Francis, who had entered into strict alliance with the new republick, he leaned rather to the side of his enemy than to that of his benefactor, and gave Lautrec no assistance towards carrying on his operations. The Venetians, viewing with jealousy the progress of the French arms, were intent only upon recovering such maritime towns in the Neapolitan dominions as were to be possessed by their republick, while they were altogether careless about the reduction of Naples, on which the success of the common

Book V.

1528.

Circum-
stances
which re-
tard the
progress of
it.

BOOK V. 1528. cause depended ¹⁴. The King of England, instead of being able, as had been projected, to embarrass the Emperor by attacking his territories in the Low Countries, found his subjects so averse to an unnecessary war, which would have ruined the trade of the nation, that in order to silence their clamours, and put a stop to the insurrections ready to break out among them, he was compelled to conclude a truce for eight months with the governors of the Netherlands ¹⁵. Francis himself, with the same unpardonable inattention of which he had formerly been guilty, and for which he had suffered so severely, neglected to make proper remittances to Lautrec for the support of his army ¹⁶.

Revolt of
Andrew
Doria from
France.

THESE unexpected events retarded the progress of the French, discouraging both the general and his troops; but the revolt of Andrew Doria proved a fatal blow to all their measures. That gallant officer, the citizen of a republic, and trained up from his infancy in the sea-service, retained the spirit of independence natural to the former, together with the plain liberal manners peculiar to the latter. A perfect stranger to the arts of submission or flattery necessary in courts, but conscious at the same time of his own merit and importance, he al-

¹⁴ Guic. l. xix. 491.

¹⁵ Herbert, 90. Rymer, 14. 258.

¹⁶ Guic. l. xviii. 478.

ways offered his advice with freedom, and often preferred his complaints and remonstrances with boldness. The French ministers, unaccustomed to such liberties, determined to ruin a man who treated them with so little deference; and though Francis himself had a just sense of Doria's services, as well as an high esteem for his character, the courtiers, by continually representing him as a man haughty, intractable, and more solicitous to aggrandize himself, than to promote the interest of France, gradually undermined the foundations of his credit, and filled the King's mind with suspicion and distrust. From thence proceeded several affronts and indignities put upon Doria. His appointments were not regularly paid; his advice, even in naval affairs, was often slighted; an attempt was made to seize the prisoners taken by his nephew in the sea-fight off Naples; all which he bore with abundance of ill-humour. But an injury offered to his country, transported him beyond all bounds of patience. The French began to fortify Savona, to clear its harbour, and, removing thither some branches of trade carried on at Genoa, plainly shewed that they intended to render that town, long the object of jealousy and hatred to the Genoese, their rival in wealth and commerce. Doria, animated with a patriotick zeal for the honour and interest of his country, remonstrated against this in the

Book V.

1528.

BOOK V. highest tone, not without threats, if the measure
1528. were not instantly abandoned. This bold action, aggravated by the malice of the courtiers, and placed in the most odious light, irritated Francis to such a degree, that he commanded Barbe-fieux, whom he appointed admiral of the Levant, to sail directly to Genoa with the French fleet, to arrest Doria, and to seize his gallies. This rash order, the execution of which could have been secured only by the most profound secrecy, was concealed with so little care, that Doria got timely intelligence of it, and retired with all his gallies to a place of safety. Gualto, his prisoner, who had long observed and fomented his growing discontent, and had often allured him by magnificent promises to enter into the Emperor's service, laid hold on this favourable opportunity. While his indignation and resentment were at their height, he prevailed on him to dispatch one of his officers to the Imperial court with his overtures and demands. The negociation was not long; Charles, fully sensible of the importance of such an acquisition, granted him whatever terms he required. Doria sent back his commission, together with the collar of St. Michael, to Francis, and hoisting the Imperial colours, sailed with all his gallies towards Naples, not to block up the harbour of that unhappy city as he had formerly en-

gaged, but to bring them protection and deliverance. Book V.
1528.

His arrival opened the communication with the sea, and restored plenty in Naples, which was now reduced to the last extremity; and the French having lost their superiority at sea, were soon reduced to great straits for want of provisions. The Prince of Orange, who succeeded the viceroy in the command of the Imperial army, shewed himself by his prudent conduct worthy of that honour which his good fortune and the death of his generals had twice acquired him. Beloved by the troops, who remembering the prosperity which they had enjoyed under his command, served him with the utmost alacrity, he let slip no opportunity of harassing the enemy, and by continual alarms or sallies, fatigued and weakened them¹⁷. As an addition to all these misfortunes, the diseases common in that country during the sultry months, began to break out among the French troops. The prisoners communicated to them the pestilence which the Imperial army had brought to Naples from Rome, and it raged with such violence, that few, either officers or soldiers, escaped the infection. Of the whole army, not four thousand men, a number hardly sufficient to defend the

¹⁷ Jovii Hist. lib. xxxvi. p. 31, &c. Sigonii Vita Doriæ, p. 1139. Bellay, 114, &c.

Book V. camp, were capable of doing duty ¹⁸; and being
 1528. now besieged in their turn, they suffered all the
 miseries from which the Imperialists were de-
 livered. Lautrec, after struggling long with
 so many disappointments and calamities, which
 preyed on his mind at the same time that the
 Aug. 15. pestilence wasted his body, died, lamenting the
 negligence of his sovereign, and the infidelity
 of his allies, to which so many brave men had
 fallen victims ¹⁹. By his death, and the indispo-
 sition of the other generals, the command de-
 volved on the marquis de Saluces; an officer
 Raife the altogether unequal to such a trust. He, with
 siege. troops no less dispirited than reduced, retreated
 in disorder to Averfa; which town being in-
 vested by the Prince of Orange, Saluces was
 under the necessity of consenting, that he him-
 self should remain a prisoner of war, that his
 troops should lay down their arms and colours,
 give up their baggage, and march under a
 guard to the frontiers of France. By this igno-
 minious capitulation, the wretched remains of
 the French army were saved; and the Emperor,
 by his own perseverance and the good conduct
 of his generals, acquired once more the supe-
 riority in Italy ²⁰.

¹⁸ Bellay, 117, &c.

¹⁹ P. Heuter. Rerum Austr. lib. x. c. 2. 231.

²⁰ Bellay, 117, &c. Jovii Hist. lib. xxv, xxvi.

THE loss of Genoa followed immediately upon the ruin of the army in Naples. To deliver his country from the dominion of foreigners was Doria's highest ambition, and had been his principal inducement to quit the service of France, and enter into that of the Emperor. A most favourable opportunity for executing this honourable enterprize now presented itself. The city of Genoa, afflicted by the pestilence, was almost deserted by its inhabitants; the French garrison being neither regularly paid nor recruited, was reduced to an inconsiderable number; Doria's emissaries found that such of the citizens as remained, being weary alike of the French and Imperial yoke, the rigour of which they had alternately felt, were ready to welcome him as their deliverer, and to second all his measures. Things wearing this promising aspect, he sailed towards the coast of Genoa; on his approach the French gallies retired; a small body of men which he landed, surprized one of the gates of Genoa in the night-time; Trivulci, the French governor, with his feeble garrison, shut himself up in the citadel, and Doria took possession of the town without bloodshed or resistance. Want of provisions quickly obliged Trivulci to capitulate; the people, eager to abolish such an odious monument of their servitude, ran together with a tumultuous violence, and levelled the citadel with the ground.

Book V.

1528.

Genoa recovers its liberty.

Sept. 12.

BOOK V.

1528.

Disinterest-
ed conduct
of Doria.

IT was now in Doria's power to have rendered himself the sovereign of his country, which he had so happily delivered from oppression. The fame of his former actions, the success of his present attempt, the attachment of his friends, the gratitude of his countrymen, together with the support of the Emperor, all conspired to facilitate his attaining the supreme authority, and invited him to lay hold of it. But with a magnanimity of which there are few examples, he sacrificed all thoughts of aggrandizing himself to the virtuous satisfaction of establishing liberty in his country, the highest object at which ambition can aim. Having assembled the whole body of the people in the court before his palace, he assured them, that the happiness of seeing them once more in possession of freedom, was to him a full reward for all his services; that, more delighted with the name of citizen than of sovereign, he claimed no pre-eminence or power above his equals; but remitted entirely to them the right of settling what form of government they would now chuse to be established among them. The people listened to him with tears of admiration, and of joy. Twelve persons were elected to new-model the constitution of the republick. The influence of Doria's virtue and example communicated itself to his countrymen; the factions which had long torn and ruined the state, seemed to be forgot-

ten; prudent precautions were taken to prevent their reviving; and the same form of government which hath subsisted with little variation since that time in Genoa, was established with universal applause. Doria lived to a great age, beloved, respected, and honoured by his countrymen; and adhering uniformly to his professions of moderation, without arrogating any thing unbecoming a private citizen, he preserved a great ascendant over the councils of the republick, which owed its being to his generosity. The authority which he possessed was more flattering, as well as more satisfactory, than that derived from sovereignty; a dominion founded in love and in gratitude; and upheld by veneration for his virtues, not by the dread of his power. His memory is still revered by the Genoese, and he is distinguished in their publick monuments, and celebrated in the works of their historians, by the most honourable of all appellations, **THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, AND THE RESTORER OF ITS LIBERTY**²¹.

FRANCIS, in order to recover the reputation of his arms, discredited by so many losses, made new efforts in the Milanese. But the Count of St. Pol, a rash and unexperienced officer, to

Book V.

1528.

1529.

Operations
in the Mi-
lanese.

²¹ Guic. l. xix. p. 498. Sigonii Vita Doriæ, p. 1146. Jovii Hist. lib. xxvi. p. 36, &c.

BOOK V. whom he gave the command, was no match for
 1529. Antonio de Leyva, the ablest of the Imperial
 generals. He, by his superior skill in war,
 checked, with a handful of men, the brisk but
 ill-concerted motions of the French; and though
 so infirm himself that he was carried constantly
 in a litter, he surpassed them, when occasion re-
 quired, no less in activity than in prudence. By
 an unexpected march he surprized, defeated,
 and took the Count of St. Pol, ruining the
 French army in the Milanese as entirely as the
 Prince of Orange had ruined that which besieged
 Naples²².

Negocia-
 tions be-
 tween
 Charles and
 Francis.

AMIDST these vigorous operations in the field,
 each party discovered an impatient desire of
 peace, and continual negotiations were carried
 on for that purpose. The French King dis-
 couraged, and almost exhausted by so many
 unsuccessful enterprizes, was reduced now to
 think of obtaining the release of his sons by con-
 cessions, not by the terror of his arms. The
 Pope hoped to recover by a treaty whatever he
 had lost in the war. The Emperor, notwith-
 standing the advantages which he had gained,
 had many reasons to make him wish for an ac-
 commodation. Solyman, having over-run Hun-
 gary, was ready to break in upon the Austrian

²² Guic. l. xix. 520. P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. x. c. 3.
 p. 233. Mém. de Bellay, 121.

territories with the whole force of the East. The Reformation gaining ground daily in Germany, the princes who favoured it had entered into a confederacy, which Charles thought dangerous to the tranquillity of the Empire. The Spaniards murmured at a war the weight of which rested chiefly on them. The variety and extent of the Emperor's operations far exceeded what his revenues could support: his success hitherto had been owing chiefly to his own good fortune, and to the abilities of his generals, nor could he flatter himself that they, with troops destitute of every thing necessary, would always triumph over enemies still in a condition to renew their attacks. All parties, however, were at equal pains to conceal, or to dissemble their real sentiments. The Emperor, that his inability to carry on the war might not be suspected, insisted on high terms in the tone of a conqueror. The Pope, solicitous not to lose his present allies, before he came to any agreement with Charles, continued to make a thousand protestations of fidelity to the former, while he privately negotiated with the latter. Francis, afraid that his confederates might prevent him by treating for themselves with the Emperor, had recourse to many dishonourable artifices, in order to turn their attention from the measures which he was taking to adjust all differences with his rival.

BOOK V.
1529.

BOOK V. IN this situation of affairs, when all the con-
 1529. tending powers wished for peace, but durst not
 venture too hastily on the steps necessary for at-
 taining it, two ladies undertook to procure this
 blessing so much desired by all Europe. These
 May. were Margaret of Austria, dowager of Savoy,
 the Emperor's aunt, and Louise, Francis's mo-
 ther. They agreed on an interview at Cambray,
 and being lodged in two adjoining houses, be-
 tween which a communication was opened, met
 together without ceremony or observation, and
 held daily conferences, to which no person what-
 ever was admitted. As both were profoundly
 skilled in business, thoroughly acquainted with
 the secrets of their respective courts, and pos-
 sessed with perfect confidence in each other,
 they soon made great progress towards a final
 accommodation; and the ambassadors of all the
 confederates waited in anxious suspense to know
 their fate, the determination of which was en-
 tirely in their hands²³.

Separate
 treaty be-
 tween the
 Pope and
 Charles.

June 20.

BUT whatever diligence they used to hasten
 forward a general peace, the Pope had the ad-
 dress and industry to get the start of his allies,
 by concluding at Barcelona a particular treaty
 for himself. The Emperor, impatient to visit
 Italy in his way to Germany; and desirous of

²³ P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. x. c. 3. p. 133. éMm. de
 Bellay, p. 122.

re-establishing tranquillity in the one country, before he attempted to compose the disorders which abounded in the other, found it necessary to secure at least one alliance among the Italian states, on which he might depend. That with Clement, who courted it with unwearied importunity, seemed more proper than any other. Charles being extremely solicitous to make some reparation for the insults which he had offered to the sacred character of the Pope, and to redeem past offences by new merit, granted Clement, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, terms more favourable than he could have expected after a continued series of success. Among other articles, he engaged to restore all the territories belonging to the ecclesiastical state; to re-establish the dominion of the Medici in Florence; to give his natural daughter in marriage to Alexander the head of that family; and to put it in the Pope's power to decide concerning the fate of Sforza, and the possession of the Milanese. In return for these ample concessions, Clement gave the Emperor the investiture of Naples without the reserve of any tribute, but the present of a white steed in acknowledgment of his sovereignty; absolved all who had been concerned in assaulting and plundering Rome; and permitted Charles and his brother Ferdinand to levy the fourth of the ecclesiastical revenues throughout their dominions²⁴.

²⁴ Guic. l. xix. 522.

BOOK V.

1529.

August 5.

Peace of
Cambray

between

Charles and
Francis.

THE account of this transaction quickened the negociations at Cambray, and brought Margaret and Louise to an immediate agreement. The treaty of Madrid served as the basis of that which they concluded; the latter being intended to mitigate the rigour of the former. The chief articles were, that the Emperor should not, for the present, demand the restitution of Burgundy, reserving, however, in full force, his rights and pretensions to that dutchy; That Francis should pay two millions of crowns as the ransom of his sons, and, before they were set at liberty, should restore such towns as he still held in the Milanese; that he should resign the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois; That he should renounce all his pretensions to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and every other place beyond the Alps; that he should immediately consummate the marriage concluded between him and the Emperor's sister Eleanora²⁵.

Advantage-
ous for the
Emperor.

THUS Francis, chiefly from his impatience to procure liberty to his sons, sacrificed every thing which had at first prompted him to take arms, or which had induced him, by continuing hostilities, during nine successive campaigns, to protract the war to a length hardly known in Europe before the establishment of standing

²⁵ P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. x. c. 3. p. 234. Sandov. Hist. del. Emper. Carl. V. ii. 28.

armies, and the imposition of exorbitant taxes, became universal. The Emperor, by this treaty, was rendered sole arbiter of the fate of Italy; he delivered his territories in the Netherlands from an ignominious badge of subjection; and after having baffled his rival in the field, he prescribed to him the conditions of peace. The different conduct and spirit with which the two Monarchs carried on the operations of war, led naturally to such an issue of it. Charles, inclined by temper, as well as obliged by his situation, concerted all his schemes with caution, pursued them with perseverance, and observing circumstances and events with attention, let none escape that could be improved to advantage. Francis, more enterprizing than steady, undertook great designs with warmth, but executed them with remissness; and diverted by his pleasures, or deceived by his favourites, he often lost the most promising opportunities of success. Nor had the character of the two rivals themselves greater influence on the operations of the war, than the opposite qualities of the generals whom they employed. Among the Imperialists, valour tempered with prudence; fertility of invention aided by experience; discernment to penetrate the designs of their enemies, a provident sagacity in conducting their own measures, in a word all the talents which form great commanders and ensure victory, were

BOOK V. conspicuous. Among the French, these quali-
 1529. ties were either wanting, or the very reverse of
 them abounded; nor could they boast of one
 man (unless we except Lautrec, who was always
 unfortunate) that equalled the merit of Pescara,
 Leyva, Gualto, the Prince of Orange, and other
 leaders whom Charles had to set in opposition to
 them. Bourbon, Morone, Doria, who by their
 abilities and conduct might have been capable
 of balancing the superiority which the Imperial-
 ists had acquired, were lost through the care-
 lessness of the King, and the malice or injustice
 of his counsellors; and the most fatal blows
 given to France during the progress of the war,
 proceeded from the despair and resentment of
 these three persons, who were forced to aban-
 don her service.

Dishonour-
 able to
 Francis.

THE hard conditions to which Francis was
 obliged to submit were not the most afflicting
 circumstance to him in the treaty of Cambray.
 He lost his reputation and the confidence of all
 Europe, by abandoning his allies to his rival.
 Unwilling to enter into the details necessary for
 adjusting their interests, or afraid that whatever
 he claimed for them must have been purchased
 by farther concessions on his own part, he gave
 them up in a body; and without the least pro-
 vision in their behalf, left the Venetians, the
 Florentines, the Duke of Ferrara, together with

such of the Neapolitan barons as had joined his army, to the mercy of the Emperor. They exclaimed loudly against this base and perfidious action, of which Francis himself was so much ashamed, that in order to avoid the pain of hearing from their ambassadors the reproaches which he justly merited, it was some time before he would consent to allow them an audience. Charles, on the other hand, was attentive to the interest of every person who had adhered to him; the rights of some of his Flemish subjects, who had estates or pretensions in France, were secured; one article was inserted, obliging Francis to restore the blood and memory of the Constable Bourbon; and to grant his heirs the possession of his lands which had been forfeited; another, by which indemnification was stipulated for those French gentlemen who had accompanied Bourbon in his exile²⁶. This conduct, laudable in itself, and placed in the most striking light by a comparison with that of Francis, gained Charles as much esteem as the success of his arms had acquired him glory.

FRANCIS did not treat the King of England with the same neglect as his other allies. He communicated to him all the steps of his negotiation at Cambray, and luckily found that

Henry acquiesces in it.

²⁶ Guic. l. xix. p. 525. P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. x. c. 4. p. 235.

BOOK VI. Monarch in a situation which left him no choice,
 1529. but to approve implicitly of his measures, and
 His scheme to concur with them. Henry had been solicit-
 of being di- ing the Pope for some time, in order to obtain
 vanced from a divorce from Catharine of Aragon his Queen.
 his Queen. Several motives combined in prompting the
 King to urge his suit. As he was powerfully
 influenced at some seasons by religious consider-
 ations, he entertained many scruples concern-
 ing the legitimacy of his marriage with his bro-
 ther's widow; his affections had long been
 estranged from the Queen, who was older than
 himself and had lost all the charms which she
 possessed in the earlier part of her life; he was
 passionately desirous of having male issue; Wol-
 sey artfully fortified his scruples, and encouraged
 his hopes, that he might widen the breach be-
 tween him and the Emperor, Catharine's ne-
 phew; and, what was more forcible perhaps in
 its operation than all these united, the King had
 conceived a violent love for the celebrated Anne
 Boleyn, a young lady of great beauty, and of
 greater accomplishments, whom, as he found it
 impossible to gain her on other terms, he de-
 termined to raise to the throne. The papal
 authority had often been interposed to grant
 divorces for reasons less specious than those
 which Henry produced. When the matter was
 first proposed to Clement, during his imprison-
 ment in the castle of St. Angelo, as his hopes

of recovering liberty depended entirely on the King of England, and his ally of France, he expressed the warmest inclination to gratify him. But no sooner was he set free, than he discovered other sentiments. Charles, who espoused the protection of his aunt with zeal inflamed by resentment, alarmed the Pope on the one hand with threats, which made a deep impression on his timid mind; and allured him on [the other with those promises in favour of his family, which he afterwards accomplished. Upon the prospect of these, Clement not only forgot all his obligations to Henry, but ventured to endanger the interest of the Romish religion in England, and to run the risque of alienating that kingdom for ever from the obedience of the papal see. After amusing Henry during two years, with all the subtleties and chicane which the court of Rome can so dexterously employ to protract or defeat any cause; after displaying the whole extent of his ambiguous and deceitful policy, the intricacies of which the English historians, to whom it properly belongs, have found it no easy matter to trace and unravel; he, at last, recalled the powers of the delegates whom he had appointed to judge in the point, avocated the cause to Rome, leaving the King no other hope of obtaining a divorce but from the personal decision of the Pope himself. As Clement was now in strict alliance with the Em-

BOOK V.
1529.

peror, who had purchased his friendship by such exorbitant concessions, Henry despaired of procuring any sentence from the former, but what was dictated by the latter. His honour, however, and passions concurred in preventing him from relinquishing his scheme of a divorce, which he determined to accomplish by other means, and at any rate; and the continuance of Francis's friendship being necessary to counterbalance the Emperor's power, he, in order to secure that, not only offered no remonstrances against the total neglect of their allies, in the treaty of Cambray, but made Francis the present of a large sum, as a brotherly contribution towards the payment of the ransom for his sons²⁷.

Aug. 12.
The Emperor visits
Italy.

MEANWHILE the Emperor landed in Italy with a numerous train of the Spanish nobility, and a considerable body of troops. He left the government of Spain during his absence to the Empress Isabella. By his long residence in that country, he had acquired such thorough knowledge of the character of the people, that he could perfectly accommodate the maxims of his government to their genius. He could even assume, upon some occasions, such popular manners, as gained wonderfully upon the Spaniards. A striking instance of his disposition to gratify them had occurred a few days before

²⁷ Herbert. Mém. de Bellay, p. 122.

he embarked for Italy : He was to make his publick entry into the city of Barcelona ; and some doubts having arisen among the inhabitants, whether they should receive him as Emperor, or as Count of Barcelona ; Charles instantly decided in favour of the latter, declaring that he was more proud of that ancient title, than of his Imperial crown. Soothed with this flattering expression of his regard, the citizens welcomed him with acclamations of joy, and the states of the province swore allegiance to his son Philip, as heir of the county of Barcelona. A similar oath had been taken in all the kingdoms of Spain, with equal satisfaction²⁸.

BOOK V.
1529.

THE Emperor appeared in Italy with the pomp and power of a conqueror. Ambassadors from all the princes and states of that country attended his court, waiting to receive his decision with regard to their fate. At Genoa, where he first landed, he was received with the acclamations due to the protector of their liberties. Having honoured Doria with many marks of distinction, and bestowed on the republic several new privileges, he proceeded to Bologna, the place fixed upon for his interview with the Pope. He affected to unite in his publick entry into that city the state and majesty that suited an Emperor, with the humility becoming an

Nov. 5.

²⁸ Sandov. ii. p. 50. Ferrer. ix. 116.

BOOK V.
1529.

obedient son of the church; and while at the head of twenty thousand veteran soldiers, able to give law to all Italy, he kneeled down to kiss the feet of that very Pope whom he had so lately detained a prisoner. The Italians, after suffering so much from the ferocity and licentiousness of his armies, and after having been long accustomed to form in their imagination a picture of Charles which bore some resemblance to that of the barbarous monarchs of the Goths or Huns, who had formerly afflicted their country with like calamities, were surprized to see a prince of a graceful appearance, affable and courteous in his deportment, of regular manners, and of exemplary attention to all the offices of religion²⁹. They were still more astonished when he settled all the concerns of the princes and states which now depended on him, with a degree of moderation and equity much beyond what they had expected.

His moderation and the motives of it.

CHARLES himself, when he set out from Spain, far from intending to give any such extraordinary proof of his self-denial, seems to have been resolved to avail himself to the utmost of the superiority which he had acquired in Italy. But various circumstances concurred in pointing out the necessity of pursuing a very different course. The progress of the Turkish Sultan, who after

²⁹ Sandov. Hist. del Emp. Carl. V. ii. 50. 53, &c.

over - turning Hungary , had penetrated into Austria, and laid siege to Vienna with an army of an hundred and fifty thousand men, loudly calling on him to collect his whole force to oppose that torrent; and though the valour of the Germans, the prudent conduct of Ferdinand, together with the treachery of the Vizier, soon obliged Solyman to abandon that enterprize with infamy and loss, the religious disorders still growing in Germany made the Emperor's presence highly necessary there³⁰: The Florentines, instead of giving their consent to the re-establishment of the Medici, which by the treaty of Barcelona the Emperor had bound himself to procure, were preparing to defend their liberty by force of arms; the vast preparations for his journey had involved him in unusual expences; and on this, as well as many other occasions, the multiplicity of his affairs, together with the narrowness of his revenues, obliged him to contract his vast schemes of ambition, and to forego present and certain advantages, that he might guard against more remote but unavoidable dangers. Charles, from all these considerations, finding it necessary to assume an air of moderation, acted his part with a good grace. He admitted Sforza into his presence, and not only gave him a full pardon of all past offences, but

Book V.

1529.

Sept. 13.

Oct. 16.

³⁰ Sleidan. 121. Guic. l. xx. 550.

BOOK V. granted him the investiture of the dutchy, together with his niece the King of Denmark's daughter in marriage. He allowed the Duke of Ferrara to keep possession of all his dominions, adjusting the points in dispute between him and the Pope with an impartiality not very agreeable to the latter. He came to a final accommodation with the Venetians upon the reasonable condition of their restoring whatever they had usurped during the late war, either in the Neapolitan or Papal territories. In return for so many concessions he exacted considerable sums from each of the powers with whom he treated, which they paid without reluctance, and which afforded him the means of proceeding on his journey towards Germany with a magnificence suitable to his dignity ³¹.

1530.
Re-establishes the authority of the Medici in Florence.

THESE treaties, which restored tranquillity to Italy after a tedious war, the calamities of which had chiefly affected that country, were published at Bologna with great solemnity on the first day of the year one thousand five hundred and thirty, amidst the universal acclamations of the people, applauding the Emperor, to whose moderation and generosity they ascribed the blessings of peace which they had so long desired. The Florentines alone did not partake of this general joy. Animated with a zeal for liberty

³¹ Sandov. ii. 55. &c.

more laudable than prudent, they determined to oppose the restoration of the Medici. The Imperial army had already entered their territories, and formed the siege of their capital. But though deserted by all their allies, and left without any hope of succour, they defended themselves many months with an obstinate valour worthy of better success, and even when they surrendered, they obtained a capitulation which gave them hopes of securing some remains of their liberty. But the Emperor, from his desire to gratify the Pope, frustrated all their expectations, and abolishing their ancient form of government, raised Alexander di Medici to the same absolute dominion over that state which his family have retained to the present times. Philibert de Chalons Prince of Orange, the Imperial general, was killed during this siege. His estate and titles descended to his sister Claude de Chalons, who was married to René Count of Nassau, and she transmitted to her posterity of the house of Nassau the title of Princes of Orange, which they have rendered so illustrious ¹².

AFTER the publication of the peace at Bologna, and the ceremony of his coronation as King of Lombardy and Emperor of the Romans, which the Pope performed with the accustomed

State of affairs, civil and religious, in Germany.

¹² Guic. l. xx. p. 341, &c. P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. ii. c. 4. p. 236.

BOOK V. formalities, nothing detained Charles in Italy³³; and he began to prepare for his journey to Germany. His presence became every day more necessary in that country, and was solicited with equal importunity by the catholics and by the favourers of the new doctrines. During that long interval of tranquillity which the absence of the Emperor, the contests between him and the Pope, and his attention to the war with France, afforded them, the latter had gained much ground. Most of the princes who had embraced Luther's opinions, had not only established in their territories that form of worship which he approved, but had entirely suppressed the rites of the Romish church. Many of the free cities had imitated their conduct. Almost one half of the Germanick body had revolted from the papal see, and its dominion, even in that part which had not hitherto shaken off the yoke, was considerably weakened by the example of the neighbouring states, or by the secret progress of those doctrines which had undermined it among them. Whatever satisfaction the Emperor, while he was at open enmity with the see of Rome, might have felt in those events that tended to mortify and embarrass the Pope, he could not help perceiving now, that the religious divisions in Germany would, in the end, prove

³³ H. Cornel. Agrippa de duplici Coronatione Car. V. ap. Scard. ii. 266.

extremely hurtful to the Imperial authority. BOOK V.
 The weakness of former Emperors had suffered 1530.
 the great vassals of the Empire to make such
 successful encroachments upon their power and
 prerogative, that during the whole course of a
 war, which had often required the exertion of
 his utmost strength, Charles hardly drew any
 effectual aid from Germany, and found that
 magnificent titles or obsolete pretensions were
 almost the only advantages which he had gained
 by swaying the Imperial sceptre. He now became
 fully sensible that if he did not recover in some
 degree the prerogatives which his predecessors
 had lost, and acquire the authority, as well as
 possess the name, of head of the Empire, his
 high dignity would contribute more to obstruct
 than to promote his ambitious schemes. Nothing,
 he saw, was more essential towards attaining
 this, than to suppress opinions which might form
 new bonds of confederacy among the princes of
 the Empire, and unite them by ties stronger and
 more sacred than any political connection. No-
 thing seemed to lead more certainly to the accom-
 plishment of his designs, than to employ zeal
 for the established religion, of which he was the
 natural protector, as the instrument of extending
 his civil authority.

ACCORDINGLY, a prospect no sooner opened
 of coming to an accommodation with the Pope, Proceedings
of the Diet

BOOK V. than, by the Emperor's appointment, a diet of
1530. the Empire was held at Spires, in order to take
at Spires, into consideration the state of religion. The
March 15, decree of the diet assembled there in the year
1529. one thousand five hundred and twenty-six, which
was almost equivalent to a toleration of Luther's
opinions, had given great offence to the rest of
Christendom. The greatest delicacy of address,
however, was requisite in proceeding to any
decision more rigorous. The minds of men kept
in perpetual agitation by a controversy carried
on during twelve years without intermission of
debate, or abatement of zeal, were now inflamed
to an high degree. They were accustomed to
innovations, and saw the boldest of them suc-
cessful. Having not only abolished old rites,
but substituted new forms in their place, they
were influenced as much by attachment to the
system which they had embraced, as by aversion
to that which they had abandoned. Luther
himself, of a spirit not to be worn out by the
length and obstinacy of the combat, or to be-
come remiss upon success, continued the attack
with as much vigour as he had begun it. His
disciples, of whom many equalled him in zeal,
and some surpassed him in learning, were no less
capable than their master to conduct the con-
troversy in the properest manner. Many of the
laity, some even of the princes, trained up
amidst these incessant disputations, and in the

habit of listening to the arguments of the contending parties who alternately appealed to them as judges, came to be profoundly skilled in all the questions which were agitated, and, upon occasion, could shew themselves not inexpert in any of the arts with which these theological encounters were managed. It was obvious from all these circumstances, that any violent decision of the diet must have immediately precipitated matters into confusion, and have kindled in Germany the flames of a religious war. All, therefore, that the Archduke, and the other commissioners appointed by the Emperor, demanded of the diet, was, to enjoin those states of the Empire which had hitherto obeyed the decree issued against Luther at Worms in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-four, to persevere in the observation of it, and to prohibit the other states from attempting any farther innovation in religion, particularly from abolishing the Mass, before the meeting of a general council. After much dispute, a decree to that effect was approved of by a majority of voices ³⁴.

THE Elector of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Dukes of Lunenburgh, the Prince of Anhalt, together with the deputies of fourteen Imperial or free

The followers of Luther protest against them,
April 19.

³⁴ Sleid. Hist. 117.

BOOK V.
1530.

Delibera-
tions of the
Pope and
Emperor.

cities ³⁵, entered a solemn protest against this decree, as unjust and impious. On that account they were distinguished by the name of PROTESTANTS ³⁶, an appellation which hath since become better known, and more honourable, by its being applied indiscriminately to all the sects of whatever denomination which have revolted from the Roman see. Not satisfied with this declaration of their dissent from the decree of the diet, the Protestants sent ambassadors into Italy to lay their grievances before the Emperor, from whom they met with the most discouraging reception. Charles was at that time in close union with the Pope, and solicitous to attach him inviolably to his interest. During their long residence at Bologna, they held many consultations concerning the most effectual means of extirpating the heresies which had sprung up in Germany. Clement, whose cautious and timid mind the proposal of a general council filled with horror even beyond what Popes, the constant enemies of such assemblies, usually feel, employed every argument to dissuade the Emperor from consenting to that measure. He represented general councils as factious, ungo-

³⁵ The fourteen cities were Strasburgh, Nurembergh, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Windsheim, Meinengen, Lindaw, Kempten, Hailbron, Isna, Weiffsemburgh, Nordlingen, and St. Gal.

³⁶ Sleid. Hist. 119. F. Paul, Hist. p. 45, Seckend. ii. 127.
vernable,

BOOK V:

1530.

vernable, presumptuous, formidable to civil authority, and too slow in their operations to remedy disorders which required an immediate cure. Experience, he said, had now taught both the Emperor and himself, that forbearance and lenity exasperated the spirit of innovation, which they ought to have mollified; it was necessary, therefore, to have recourse to the rigorous methods which such a desperate case required; Leo's sentence of excommunication, together with the decree of the diet at Worms should be carried into execution, and it was incumbent on the Emperor to employ his whole power, in order to overawe those, on whom the reverence due either to ecclesiastical or civil authority had no longer any influence. Charles, whose views were very different from the Pope's, and who became daily more sensible how obstinate and deep-rooted the evil was, thought of reconciling the Protestants by means less violent, and considered the convocation of a council as no improper expedient for that purpose; but promised, if gentler arts failed of success, that then he would exert himself with vigour to reduce those stubborn enemies of the Catholic faith³⁷.

SUCH were the sentiments with which the Emperor set out for Germany, having already ap-
Emperor present at the Diet of

³⁷ F. Paul, xlvii. Seck. l. ii. 142. Hist. de la Confess. d'Augsbourgh par D. Chytreus, 4to. Antw. 1572, p. 6.

BOOK V.

1530.

Augsburgh.

March 22,

1530.

June 15.

pointed a diet of the Empire to be held at Augs-
burgh. In his journey towards that city, he had
many opportunities of observing the disposition
of the Germans with regard to the points in
controverfy, and found their minds every where
so much irritated and inflamed, as convinced
him that nothing tending to severity or rigour
ought to be attempted, until all other measures
proved ineffectual. He made his publick entry
into Augsburgh with extraordinary pomp; and
found there such a full assembly of the members
of the diet as was suitable both to the import-
ance of the affairs which were to come under
their consideration, and to the honour of an
Emperor, who, after a long absence, returned
to them crowned with reputation and success.
His presence seems to have communicated to all
parties an unusual spirit of moderation and desire
of peace. The Elector of Saxony would not
permit Luther to accompany him to the diet,
lest he should offend the Emperor by bringing
into his presence a person excommunicated by
the Pope, and the author of all those dissensions
which it now appeared so difficult to compose.
At the Emperor's desire all the Protestant
princes forbid the divines who accompanied
them, to preach in publick during their residence
at Augsburgh. For the same reason they em-
ployed Melancthon, the man of the greatest
learning, as well as of the most pacifick and gentle

spirit among the Reformers, to draw up a confession of their faith expressed in terms as little offensive to the Roman Catholics, as a regard for truth would permit. Melancthon, who seldom suffered the rancour of controversy to envenom his style, even in writings purely polemical, executed a task so agreeable to his natural disposition with great moderation and success. The Creed which he composed, known by the name of the Confession of Augsburgh, from the place where it was presented, was read publickly in the diet; some Popish divines were appointed to examine it; they brought in their animadversions; a dispute ensued between them and Melancthon, seconded by some of his brethren; but though Melancthon softened some articles, made concessions with regard to others, and put the least exceptionable sense upon all; though the Emperor himself laboured with great earnestness to reconcile the contending parties; so many marks of distinction were now established, and such insuperable barriers placed between the two churches, that all hopes of bringing about a coalition seemed utterly desperate³⁸.

BOOK V.
1530.

The confession of
Augsburgh.

FROM the divines, among whom his endeavours had been so unsuccessful, Charles turned

³⁸ Seckend. lib. ii. 159, &c. Abr. Sculteti Annales Evangelici ap. Herm. Van der Hard. Hist. Liter. Reform. Lips. 1717. fol. p. 159.

BOOK V. to the princes their patrons. Nor did he find
 1530. them, how desirous soever of accommodation,
 or willing to oblige the Emperor, more disposed
 than the former to renounce their opinions. At
 that time, zeal for religion took possession of the
 minds of men, to a degree which can scarcely be
 conceived by those who live in an age when the
 passions, excited by the first manifestation of
 truth, and the first recovery of liberty, have in a
 great measure ceased to operate. This zeal was
 then of such strength as to overcome attach-
 ment to their political interest, which is com-
 monly the predominant motive among princes.
 The Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse,
 and other chiefs of the Protestants, though soli-
 cited separately by the Emperor, and allured by
 the promise or prospect of those advantages
 which it was known they were most solicitous to
 attain, refused, with a fortitude highly worthy
 of imitation, to abandon what they deemed the
 cause of God, for the sake of any earthly ac-
 quisition ³⁹.

Severe de-
 cree against
 the Protest-
 ants.

EVERY scheme in order to gain or disunite
 the Protestant party proving abortive, nothing
 now remained for the Emperor but to take some
 vigorous measures towards asserting the doc-
 trines and authority of the established church.

³⁹ Sleid, 132. Scultet. Annal. 158.

These, Campeggio, the papal nuncio, had al-
ways recommended as the only proper and ef-
fectual course of dealing with such obstinate
hereticks. In compliance with his opinions and
remonstrances, the diet issued a decree, con-
demning most of the peculiar tenets held by the
Protestants; forbidding any person to protect or
tolerate such as taught them; enjoining a
strict observance of the established rites; and
prohibiting any further innovation under severe
penalties. All orders of men were required to
assist with their persons and fortunes in carrying
this decree into execution; and such as refused
to obey it, were declared incapable of acting as
judges, or of appearing as parties in the Imperial
chamber, the supreme court of judicature in the
Empire. To all which was subjoined a promise,
that an application should be made to the Pope,
requiring him to call a general council within six
months, in order to terminate all controversies
by its sovereign decisions ⁴⁰.

Book V.

1530.

Nov. 19.

THE severity of this decree, which they con-
sidered as a prelude to the most violent perse-
cution, alarmed the Protestants, and convinced
them that the Emperor was resolved on their
destruction. The dread of those calamities which
were ready to fall on the church, oppressed the

They enter
into a league
at Smal-
kalde.

⁴⁰ Sleid. 139.

BOOK V. feeble spirit of Melancthon; and as if the cause
 1530. had already been desperate, he gave up himself to melancholy and lamentation. But Luther, who during the meeting of the diet had endeavoured to confirm and animate his party by several treatises which he addressed to them, was not disconcerted or dismayed at the prospect of this new danger. He comforted Melancthon and his other desponding disciples, and exhorted the Princes not to abandon those truths which they had lately asserted with such laudable boldness⁴¹. His exhortations made the deeper impression upon them, as they were greatly alarmed at that time by the account of a combination among the Popish princes of the Empire for the maintenance of the established religion, to which Charles himself had acceded⁴². This convinced them that it was necessary to stand on their guard; and that their own safety, as well as the success of their cause, depended on union. Filled with this dread of the adverse party, and with these sentiments concerning the conduct proper for themselves, they assembled at Smalkalde. Decem. 22. There they concluded a league of mutual defence against all aggressors⁴³, by which they formed the Protestant states of the Empire into one regular body, and beginning already to con-

⁴¹ Seck ii. 180. Sleid. 140. ⁴² Seck. ii. 200. iii. 11.
⁴³ Sleid. Hist. 142.

sider themselves as such, they resolved to apply to the Kings of France and England, and to implore them to patronize and assist their new confederacy. Book V.
1530.

AN affair not connected with religion furnished them with a pretence for courting the aid of foreign princes. Charles, whose ambitious views enlarged in proportion to the increase of his power and grandeur, had formed a scheme of continuing the Imperial crown in his family, by procuring his brother Ferdinand to be elected King of the Romans. The present juncture was favourable for the execution of that design. The Emperor's arms had been every where victorious; he had given law to all Europe at the late peace; no rival now remained in a condition to balance or to controul him; and the Electors, dazzled with the splendour of his success, or overawed by the greatness of his power, durst scarcely dispute the will of a prince, whose solicitations carried with them the authority of commands. Nor did he want plausible reasons to enforce the measure. The affairs of his other kingdoms, he said, obliged him to be often absent from Germany; the growing disorders occasioned by the controversies about religion, as well as the formidable neighbourhood of the Turks, who continually threatened to break in with their desolating armies into the heart of the

The Empe-
ror proposes
to have his
brother
elected King
of the Ro-
mans.

Book V. 1530. Empire, required the constant presence of a prince endowed with prudence capable of composing the former, and with power as well as valour sufficient to repel the latter. His brother Ferdinand possessed these qualities in an eminent degree; by residing long in Germany, he had acquired a thorough knowledge of their constitution and manners; having been present almost from the first rise of their religious dissensions, he knew what remedies were most proper, what they could bear, and how to apply them; as his own dominions lay on the Turkish frontier he was the natural defender of Germany against the invasions of the Infidels, being prompted by interest no less than he would be bound in duty to oppose them.

The Protestants averse to it.

THESE arguments made little impression on the Protestants. Experience taught them, that nothing had contributed more to the undisturbed progress of their opinions, than the interregnum after Maximilian's death, the long absence of Charles, and the slackness of the reins of government which these occasioned; after deriving such advantages from a state of anarchy, they were extremely unwilling to give themselves a new and a fixed master. They perceived clearly the extent of Charles's ambition, that he aimed at rendering the Imperial crown hereditary in his family, and would of course establish in the

Empire an absolute dominion, to which elective
 princes could not have aspired with equal faci-
 lity. They determined therefore to oppose Fer-
 dinand's election with the utmost vigour, and to
 rouse their countrymen, by their example and
 exhortations, to withstand this encroachment on
 their liberties. The Elector of Saxony, accord-
 ingly, not only refused to be present at the elec-
 toral college, which the Emperor summoned to
 meet at Cologne, but instructed his eldest son to
 appear there, and to protest against the election
 as informal, illegal, contrary to the articles of
 the golden bull, and subversive of the liberties
 of the Empire. But the other Electors, whom
 Charles had been at great pains to gain, without
 regarding either his absence or protest, chose
 Ferdinand King of the Romans; who a few days
 after was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle ⁴⁴.

Book V.

1530.

1531.

January 5.

He is chosen.

WHEN the Protestants, who were assembled a
 second time at Smalkalde, received an account
 of this transaction, and heard, at the same time,
 that prosecutions were commenced, in the Im-
 perial chamber, against some of their number,
 on account of their religious principles, they
 thought it necessary, not only to renew their
 former confederacy, but immediately to dispatch
 their ambassadors into France and England.

Negotia-
 tions of the
 Protestants
 with France.

⁴⁴ Sleid. 142. Seck. iii. 1. P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib.
 x. c. 6. p. 240.

BOOK V.

1531.

Feb. 29.

Francis had observed, with all the jealousy of a rival, the reputation which the Emperor had acquired by his seeming disinterestedness and moderation in settling the affairs of Italy; and beheld with great concern the successful step which he had taken towards perpetuating and extending his authority in Germany by the election of a King of the Romans. Nothing, however, would have been more impolitick than to precipitate his kingdom into a new war when exhausted by extraordinary efforts, and discouraged by ill success, before it had got time to recruit its strength, or to forget past misfortunes. As no provocation had been given, and hardly a pretext had been afforded him, he could not violate a treaty of peace which he himself had so lately solicited, without forfeiting the esteem of all Europe, and being detested as a prince void of probity and honour. He observed, with great joy, powerful factions beginning to form in the Empire; he listened with the utmost eagerness to the complaints of the Protestant princes; and without seeming to countenance their religious opinions, determined secretly to cherish those sparks of political discord which might be afterwards kindled into a flame. For this purpose, he sent William de Bellay, one of the ablest negociators in France, into Germany, who visiting the courts of the malecontent princes, and heightening their ill-humour by va-

rious arts, concluded an alliance between them and his master ⁴⁵, which though concealed at that time, and productive of no immediate effects, laid the foundation of an union fatal on many occasions to Charles's ambitious projects; and shewed the discontented princes of Germany, where, for the future, they might find a protector no less able than willing to undertake their defence against the encroachments of the Emperor.

BOOK V.

1531.

THE King of England, highly incensed against Charles, in complaisance to whom, the Pope had long retarded, and now openly opposed his divorce, was no less disposed than Francis to strengthen a league which might be rendered so formidable to the Emperor. But his favourite project of the divorce led him into such a labyrinth of schemes and negociations, and he was, at the same time, so intent on abolishing the papal jurisdiction in England, that he had no leisure for foreign affairs. This obliged him to rest satisfied with giving general promises, together with a small supply in money to the confederates of Smalkalde ⁴⁶.

With Eng-
land.

MEANWHILE, many circumstances convinced Charles that this was not a juncture when the

Charles
courts the
Protestants.

⁴⁵ Bellay, 129, a. 130, b. Sec. iii. 14.

⁴⁶ Herbert, 152. 154.

BOOK V. 1531. extirpation of heresy was to be attempted by violence and rigour; that, in compliance with the Pope's inclinations, he had already proceeded with imprudent precipitation; and that it was more his interest to consolidate Germany into one united and vigorous body, than to divide and enfeeble it by a civil war. The Protestants, already considerable as well by their numbers as by their zeal, had acquired additional weight and importance by their joining in that confederacy into which the rash steps taken at Augs-
burgh had forced them. Having now discovered their own strength, they despised the decisions of the Imperial chamber; and being secure of foreign protection, were ready to set the head of the Empire at defiance. At the same time the peace with France was precarious, the friendship of an irresolute and interested pontiff was not to be relied on; and Solyman, in order to repair the infamy and loss which his arms had sustained in the former campaign, was preparing to enter Austria with more numerous forces. On all these accounts, especially the last, a speedy accommodation with the malecontent princes, became necessary, not only for the accomplishment of his future schemes, but for ascertaining his present safety. Negotiations were, accordingly, carried on by his direction with the Elector of Saxony and his associates; after many delays occasioned by their jealousy of the Emperor, and of each

other, after innumerable difficulties arising from the inflexible nature of religious tenets, which cannot admit of being altered, modified, or relinquished in the same manner as points of political interest, terms of pacification were agreed upon at Nuremberg, and ratified solemnly in the Diet at Ratisbon. In this treaty it was stipulated, That universal peace be established in Germany, until the meeting of a general council, the convocation of which within six months the Emperor shall endeavour to procure; That no person be molested on account of religion; That a stop be put to all processes begun by the Imperial chamber against Protestants, and the sentences already passed to their detriment be declared void. On their part, the Protestants engaged to assist the Emperor with all their forces in resisting the invasion of the Turks⁴⁷. Thus by their firmness in adhering to their principles, by the unanimity with which they urged all their claims, and by their dexterity in availing themselves of the Emperor's situation, the Protestants obtained terms which amounted almost to a toleration of their religion; all the concessions were made by Charles, none by them; even the favourite point of their approving his brother's election was not mentioned; and the Protestants of Germany, who had hi-

Book VI

1532.

Grants
them fa-
vourable
terms.July 23. of
August 3.September
and October.

⁴⁷ Du Mont Corps Diplomatique, tom. iv. part ii. 87. 89.

BOOK V. therto been viewed only as a religious sect, came
 1532. henceforth to be considered as a political body
 of no small consequence ⁴⁸.

Campaign
 in Hungary.

THE intelligence which Charles received of Solyman's having entered Hungary at the head of three hundred thousand men, cut short the deliberations of the Diet at Ratisbon; the contingent both of troops and money, which each prince was to furnish towards the defence of the Empire, having been already settled. The Protestants, as a testimony of their gratitude to the Emperor, exerted themselves with extraordinary zeal, and brought into the field forces which exceeded in number the quota imposed on them; the Catholicks imitating their example, one of the greatest and best appointed armies that had ever been levied in Germany, assembled near Vienna. Being joined by a body of Spanish and Italian veterans under the marquis del Guasto; by some heavy-armed cavalry from the Low Countries; and by the troops which Ferdinand had raised in Bohemia, Austria, and his other territories, it amounted in all to ninety thousand disciplined foot, and thirty thousand horse, besides a prodigious swarm of irregulars. Of this vast army, worthy the first prince in Christendom, the Emperor took the command in person; and mankind waited in suspense the issue

⁴⁸ Sleid. 149, &c. Seok. iii. 19.

of a decisive battle between the two greatest Monarchs in the world. But each of them dreading the other's power and good fortune, they both conducted their operations with such excessive caution, that a campaign, for which such immense preparations had been made, ended without any memorable event. Solyman, finding it impossible to gain ground upon an enemy always attentive and on his guard, marched back to Constantinople towards the end of autumn⁴⁹. It is remarkable, that in such a martial age, when every gentleman was a soldier, and every prince a general, this was the first time that Charles, who had already carried on such extensive wars, and gained so many victories, appeared at the head of his troops. In this first essay of his arms, to have opposed such a leader as Solyman, was no small honour; to have obliged him to retreat, merited very considerable praise.

BOOK V.
1532.

The Empe-
ror's march
view with
the Pope in
September
and October.

ABOUT the beginning of this campaign, the Aug. 16.
Electoꝛ of Saxony died, and was succeeded by his son John Frederick. The Reformation rather gained than lost by that event; the new Electoꝛ, no less attached than his predecessors to the opinions of Luther, occupied the station which they had held at the head of the Protestant party,

⁴⁹ Jovii. Hist. lib. xxx. p. 100, &c. Barre Hist. de l'Empire, i. 8. 347.

Book V. and defended, with the boldness and zeal of
1532. youth; that cause which they had fostered and reared with the caution of old age.

The Empe-
ror's inter-
view with
the Pope in
his way to
Spain.

Negocia-
tions con-
cerning a
general
council,

IMMEDIATELY after the retreat of the Turks, Charles, impatient to revisit Spain, set out on his way thither, for Italy. As he was extremely desirous of an interview with the Pope, they met a second time at Bologna, with the same external demonstrations of respect and friendship, but with little of that confidence which had subsisted between them during their late negotiations there. Clement was much dissatisfied with the Emperor's proceedings at Augsburgh; his concessions with regard to the speedy convocation of a council, having more than cancelled all the merit of the severe decree against the doctrines of the Reformers. The toleration granted to the Protestants at Ratisbon, and the more explicit promise concerning a council, with which it was accompanied, had irritated him still farther. Charles, however, partly from conviction that the meeting of a council would be attended with salutary effects, and partly from his desire to please the Germans, having solicited him by his ambassadors to call that assembly without delay, and now urging the same thing in person, Clement was greatly embarrassed what reply he should make to a request, which it was indecent to refuse, and dangerous to grant. He endeavoured

endeavoured at first to divert Charles from the measure, but finding him inflexible, he had recourse to artifices which he knew would delay, if not entirely defeat, the calling of that assembly. Under the plausible pretext of its being previously necessary to settle, with all parties concerned, the place of the council's meeting; the manner of its proceedings; the right of the persons who should be admitted to vote; and the authority of their decisions; he dispatched a nuncio, accompanied by an ambassador from the Emperor, to the Elector of Saxony as head of the Protestants. With regard to each of these articles, inextricable difficulties and contests arose. The Protestants demanded a council to be held in Germany; the Pope insisted that it should meet in Italy: They contended that all points in dispute should be determined by the words of holy scripture alone; he considered not only the decrees of the church, but the opinions of fathers and doctors as of equal authority: They required a free council in which the divines commissioned by different churches should be allowed a voice; he aimed at modelling the council in such a manner as would render it entirely dependant on his pleasure. Above all, the Protestants thought it unreasonable that they should bind themselves to submit to the decrees of a council, before they knew on what principles these decrees were to be founded, by

Book V.

1532.

Book V.

1532.

what persons they were to be pronounced, and what forms of proceeding they would observe. The Pope maintained it to be altogether unnecessary to call a council, if those who demanded it did not previously declare their resolution to acquiesce in its decrees. In order to adjust such a variety of points, many expedients were proposed, and the negociations spun out to such a length, as effectually answered Clement's purpose of putting off the meeting of a council, without drawing on himself the whole infamy of obstructing a measure which all Europe deemed so essential to the good of the church⁵⁰.

and for preserving the tranquillity of Italy.

TOGETHER with this negociation about calling a council, the Emperor carried on another, which he had still more at heart, for securing the peace established in Italy. As Francis had renounced his pretensions in that country with great reluctance, Charles made no doubt but that he would lay hold on the first pretext afforded him, or embrace the first opportunity which presented itself of recovering what he had lost. It became necessary, on this account, to take measures for assembling an army able to oppose him. As his treasury, drained by a long war, could not supply the sums requisite for keeping such a body constantly on foot, he at-

⁵⁰ F. Paul, Hist. 61. Seckend. iii. 73.

tempted to throw that burden on his allies, and to provide for the safety of his own dominions at their expence, by proposing that the Italian states should enter into a league of defence against all invaders; that, on the first appearance of danger, an army should be raised and maintained at the common charge; and that Antonio de Leyva should be appointed the generalissimo. Nor was the proposal unacceptable to Clement, though for a reason very different from that which induced the Emperor to make it. He hoped, by this expedient, to deliver Italy from the German and Spanish veterans which had so long filled all the powers in that country with terror, and still kept them in subjection to the Imperial yoke. A league was accordingly concluded; all the Italian states, the Venetians excepted, acceded to it; the sum which each of the contracting parties should furnish towards maintaining the army was fixed; the Emperor agreed to withdraw the troops which gave so much umbrage to his allies, and which he was unable any longer to support. Having disbanded part of them, and removed the rest to Sicily and Spain, he embarked on board Doria's galleys, and arrived at Barcelona⁵¹. April 22.

NOTWITHSTANDING all his precautions for securing the peace of Germany, and maintaining negotiations

⁵¹ Guic. l. xx. 551. Ferreras, ix. 149.

BOOK V. ing that system which he had established in Italy,
 1533. the Emperor became every day more and more
 of the apprehensive that both would be soon disturbed
 French King by the intrigues or arms of the French King.
 against the His apprehensions were well founded, as nothing
 Emperor; but the desperate situation of his affairs could
 have brought Francis to give his consent to a
 treaty so dishonourable and disadvantageous as
 that of Cambray: He, at the very time of rati-
 fying it, had formed a resolution to observe it
 no longer than necessity compelled him, and took
 a solemn protest, though with the most profound
 secrecy, against several articles in the treaty, par-
 ticularly that whereby he renounced all preten-
 sions to the dutchy of Milan, as unjust, injuri-
 ous to his heirs, and invalid. One of the crown-
 lawyers, by his command, entered a protest to
 the same purpose, and with the like secrecy,
 when the ratification of the treaty was registered
 in the parliament of Paris⁵². Francis seems to
 have thought that, by employing an artifice un-
 worthy of a King, destructive of publick faith,
 and of the mutual confidence on which all trans-
 actions between nations are founded, he was re-
 leased from any obligation to perform the most
 solemn promises, or to adhere to the most sacred
 engagements. From the moment he concluded
 the peace of Cambray, he wished and watched for
 an opportunity of violating it with safety. He
 endeavoured for that reason to strengthen his

⁵² Du Mont Corps Diplom. tom. iv. part 2. p. 52.

alliance with the King of England, whose friendship he cultivated with the greatest assiduity. He put the military force of his own kingdom on a better and more respectable footing than ever. He artfully fomented the jealousy and discontent of the German princes.

BOOK V.
1533.

BUT above all, Francis laboured to break the strict confederacy which subsisted between Charles and Clement; and he had soon the satisfaction to observe appearances of disgust and alienation arising in the mind of that suspicious and interested Pontiff, which gave him hopes that their union would not be lasting. As the Emperor's decision in favour of the Duke of Ferrara had greatly irritated the Pope, Francis aggravated the injustice of that proceeding, and flattered Clement that the papal see would find in him a more impartial and no less powerful protector. As the importunity with which Charles demanded a council was extremely offensive to the Pope, Francis artfully created obstacles to prevent it, and attempted to divert the German princes, his allies, from insisting so obstinately on that point⁵³. As the Emperor had gained such an ascendant over Clement by contributing to aggrandize his family, Francis endeavoured to allure him by the same irresistible bait, proposing a marriage between his second son, Henry

particularly
with the
Pope.

⁵³ Bellay, 141, &c. Seck. iii. 48. F. Paul, 63.

BOOK V. Duke of Orleans, and Catharine, the daughter
 1533. of the Pope's cousin Laurence di Medici. On
 the first overtures of this match, the Emperor
 could not persuade himself that Francis really
 intended to debase the royal blood of France by
 an alliance with Catharine, whose ancestors had
 been so lately private citizens and merchants in
 Florence, and believed that he meant only to
 flatter or amuse the ambitious Pontiff. He
 thought it necessary, however, to efface the im-
 pression which such a dazzling offer might have
 made, by promising to break off the marriage
 which had been agreed on between his own niece
 the King of Denmark's daughter, and the Duke
 of Milan, and to substitute Catharine in her
 place. But the French ambassadors producing
 unexpectedly full powers to conclude the mar-
 riage treaty with the Duke of Orleans, this ex-
 pedient had no effect. Clement was so highly
 pleased with an honour which added such lustre
 and dignity to the house of Medici, that he of-
 fered to grant Catharine the investiture of con-
 siderable territories in Italy by way of portion;
 he seemed ready to support Francis in prosecut-
 ing his ancient claims in that country, and con-
 sented to a personal interview with that Monarch⁵⁴.

Interview
 between the

CHARLES was at the utmost pains to prevent
 a meeting, in which nothing was likely to pass

⁵⁴ Guic. l. xx. 551. 553. Bellay, 138.

but what would be of detriment to him; nor could he bear, after he had twice condescended to visit the Pope in his own territories, that Clement should bestow such a mark of distinction on his rival, as to venture on a voyage by sea, at an unfavourable season, in order to pay court to Francis in the French dominions. But the Pope's eagerness to accomplish the match overcame all scruples of pride, or fear, or jealousy, which must have influenced him on any other occasion. The interview, notwithstanding several artifices of the Emperor to prevent it, took place at Marseilles with extraordinary pomp, and demonstrations of confidence on both sides; and the marriage, which the ambition and abilities of Catharine rendered in the sequel as fatal to France, as it was then thought dishonourable, was consummated. But whatever schemes may have been secretly concerted by the Pope and Francis in favour of the Duke of Orleans, to whom his father proposed to make over all his rights in Italy, so careful were they to avoid giving any cause of offence to the Emperor, that no treaty was concluded between them⁵⁵; and even in the marriage-articles, Catharine renounced all claims and pretensions in Italy, except to the dutchy of Urbino⁵⁶.

BOOK IV.

1533.

Pope and Francis.

October.

⁵⁵ Guic. l. xx. 555.

⁵⁶ Du Mont Corps Diplom. iv. p. ii. 101.

BOOK V.

1533.

Pope's conduct with regard to the King of England's divorce.

BUT at the very time when he was carrying on these negociations and forming this connection with Francis, which gave so great umbrage to the Emperor, such was the artifice and duplicity of Clement's character, that he suffered the latter to direct all his proceedings with regard to the King of England, and was no less attentive to gratify him in that particular, than if the most cordial union had still subsisted between them. Henry's suit for a divorce had now continued near six years; during all which period the Pope negociated, promised, retracted, and concluded nothing. After bearing repeated delays and disappointments, longer than could have been expected from a prince of such a cholerick and impetuous temper, his patience was at last so much exhausted, that he applied to another tribunal for that decree which he had solicited in vain at Rome. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, by a sentence founded on the authority of Universities, Doctors, and Rabbies, who had been consulted with respect to the point, annulled the King's marriage with Catharine; her daughter was declared illegitimate; and Anne Boleyn acknowledged as Queen of England. At the same time Henry began not only to neglect and to threaten the Pope whom he had hitherto courted, but to make innovations in the church, of which he had formerly been such a zealous defender. Clement, who

1533.

1534.

March 23.

Papal authority abolished in England.

had already seen so many provinces and kingdoms revolt from the Holy See, became apprehensive at last that England would imitate their example, and partly from his solicitude to prevent that fatal blow, partly in compliance with the French King's solicitations, determined to give Henry such satisfaction as might still retain him within the bosom of the church. But the violence of the Cardinals, devoted to the Emperor, did not allow the Pope leisure for executing this prudent resolution, and hurried him, with a precipitation fatal to the Roman See, to issue a bull rescinding Cranmer's sentence, confirming Henry's marriage with Catharine, and declaring him excommunicated, if, within a time specified, he did not abandon the wife he had taken, and return to her whom he had deserted. Enraged at this unexpected decree, Henry kept no longer any measures with the court of Rome; his subjects seconded his resentment and indignation; an act of Parliament was passed, abolishing the papal power and jurisdiction in England; by another, the King was declared supreme head of the church, and all the authority of which the Popes were deprived was vested in him. That vast fabrick of ecclesiastical dominion which had been raised with such art, and whose foundations seemed so deep, being no longer supported by the veneration of the people, was overturned in a moment. Henry

BOOK V. himself, with the caprice peculiar to his character, continued to defend the doctrines of the Romish church as fiercely as he attacked its jurisdiction. He alternately persecuted the Protestants for rejecting the former, and the Catholics for acknowledging the latter. But his subjects being once permitted to enter into new paths, did not chuse to stop short at the precise point prescribed by him. Having been encouraged by his example to break some of their fetters, they were so impatient to shake off what still remained⁵⁷, that in the following reign, with the general applause of the nation, a total separation was made from the church of Rome in articles of doctrine, as well as in matters of discipline and jurisdiction.

Death of
Clement
VII.

Sept. 25.

Election of
Paul III.
Oct. 13.

A SHORT delay might have saved the See of Rome from all the unhappy consequences of Clement's rashness. Soon after his sentence against Henry, he fell into a languishing distemper, which gradually wasting his constitution, put an end to his Pontificate, the most unfortunate, both during its continuance, and by its effects, that the church had known for many ages. The very day on which the Cardinals entered the conclave, they raised to the papal throne Alexander Farnese, dean of the sacred college, and the eldest member of that body,

⁵⁷ Herbert. Burn. Hist. of Reform.

who assumed the name of Paul III. The account of his promotion was received with extraordinary acclamations of joy by the people of Rome, highly pleased, after an interval of more than an hundred years, to see the crown of St. Peter placed on the head of a Roman citizen. Persons more capable of judging, formed a favourable preface of his administration, from the experience which he had acquired under four Pontificates, as well as the character of prudence and moderation which he had uniformly maintained in a station of great eminence, and during an active period that required both talents and address⁵⁸.

Book V.

1534.

EUROPE, it is probable, owed the continuance of its peace to the death of Clement; for although no traces remain in history of any league concluded between him and Francis, it is scarcely to be doubted but that he would have seconded the operations of the French arms in Italy, that he might have gratified his ambition by seeing one of his family possessed of the supreme power in Florence, and another in Milan. But upon the election of Paul III. who had hitherto adhered uniformly to the Imperial interest, Francis found it necessary to suspend his operations for some time, and to put off the com-

⁵⁸ Guic. l. xx. 556. F. Paul, 64.

BOOK V mencement of hostilities against the Emperor,
1534. on which he was fully determined.

Insurrection
of the Ana-
baptists in
Germany.

WHILE Francis waited for an opportunity to renew a war which had hitherto proved so fatal to himself and his subjects, a transaction of a very singular nature was carried on in Germany. Among many beneficial and salutary effects of which the Reformation was the immediate cause, it was attended, as must be the case, in all actions and events wherein men are concerned, with some consequences of an opposite nature. When the human mind is roused by grand objects, and agitated by strong passions, its operations acquire such force, that they are apt to become irregular and extravagant. Upon any great revolution in religion, such irregularities abound most, at that particular period, when men, having thrown off the authority of their ancient principles, do not yet fully comprehend the nature, or feel the obligation of those new tenets which they have embraced. The mind, in that situation, pushing forward with the boldness which prompted it to reject established opinions, and not guided by a clear knowledge of the system substituted in their place, disdains all restraint, and runs into wild notions, which often lead to scandalous or immoral conduct. Thus, in the first ages of the Christian church, many of the new converts, having renounced their an-

cient Creeds, and being but imperfectly acquainted with the doctrines and precepts of Christianity, broached the most extravagant opinions, equally subversive of piety and virtue; all which errors disappeared or were exploded when the knowledge of religion increased, and came to be more generally diffused. In like manner, soon after Luther's appearance, the rashness or ignorance of some of his disciples led them to publish tenets no less absurd than pernicious, which being proposed to men extremely illiterate, but fond of novelty, and at a time when their minds were turned wholly towards religious speculations, gained too easy credit and authority among them. To these causes must be imputed the extravagances of Muncer, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-five, as well as the rapid progress which they made among the peasants; but though the insurrection excited by that Fanatic was soon suppressed, several of his followers lurked in different places, and endeavoured privately to propagate his opinions.

IN those provinces of upper Germany, which had already been so cruelly wasted by their enthusiastick rage, the magistrates watched their motions with such severe attention, that many of them found it necessary to retire into other countries, some were punished, others driven

Origin and
tenets of
that sect.

BOOK V. into exile, and their errors were entirely rooted
1534. out. But in the Netherlands and Westphalia, where the pernicious tendency of their opinions was more unknown, and guarded against with less care, they got admittance into several towns, and spread the infection of their principles. The most remarkable of their religious tenets related to the Sacrament of Baptism, which, as they contended, ought to be administered only to persons grown up to years of understanding, and should be performed not by sprinkling them with water, but by dipping them in it: For this reason they condemned the baptism of infants, and rebaptizing all whom they admitted into their society, the sect came to be distinguished by the name of Anabaptists. To this peculiar notion concerning baptism, which has the appearance of being founded on the practice of the church in the apostolick age, and contains nothing inconsistent with the peace and order of human society, they added other principles of a most enthusiastick, as well as dangerous nature. They maintained that, among Christians who had the precepts of the gospel to direct, and the spirit of God to guide them, the office of magistracy was not only unnecessary, but an unlawful encroachment on their spiritual liberty; that the distinctions occasioned by birth, or rank, or wealth, being contrary to the spirit of the gospel, which considers all men as equal, should be en-

tirely abolished; that all Christians, throwing BOOK V.
 their possessions into one common stock, should 1534.
 live together in that state of equality which be-
 comes members of the same family; that as
 neither the laws of nature, nor the precepts of
 the New Testament had placed any restraints
 upon men with regard to the number of wives
 which they might marry, they should use that
 liberty which God himself had granted to the
 patriarchs.

SUCH opinions, propagated and maintained Settle in
 with enthusiastick zeal and boldness, were not Munster.
 long of producing the violent effects natural to
 them. Two Anabaptist prophets, John Matthias,
 a baker of Haerlem, and John Boccold, or
 Beükels, a journeyman taylor of Leyden, pos-
 sessed with the rage of making profelytes, fixed
 their residence at Munster, an Imperial city in
 Westphalia, of the first rank, under the sove-
 reignty of its bishop, but governed by its own
 senate and consuls. As neither of these Fanatics
 wanted the talents requisite in desperate en-
 terprizes, great resolution, the appearance of
 sanctity, bold pretensions to inspiration, and a
 confident and plausible manner of discoursing,
 they soon gained many converts. Among these
 were Rothman, who had first preached the Pro-
 testant doctrine in Munster, and Cnipperdoling,
 a citizen of good birth, and considerable emi-

BOOK V. 1534. **Become masters of that city.** nence. Emboldened by the countenance of such disciples, they openly taught their opinions; and not satisfied with that liberty, they made several attempts, though without success, to seize the town, in order to get their tenets established by publick authority. At last, having secretly called in their associates from the neighbouring country, they suddenly took possession of the arsenal and senate-house in the night-time, and running through the streets with drawn swords, and horrible howlings, cried out alternately, "Repent, and be baptised," and February. "Depart ye ungodly." The senators, the canons, the nobility, together with the more sober citizens, whether Papists or Protestants, terrified at their threats and outcries, fled in confusion, and left the city under the dominion of a frantick multitude, consisting chiefly of strangers. Nothing now remaining to overawe or controul them, they set about modelling the government according to their own wild ideas; and though at first they shewed so much reverence for the ancient constitution, as to elect senators of their own sect, and to appoint Cnipperdoling and another profelyte consuls, this was nothing more than form; for all their proceedings were directed by Matthias, who, in the style, and with the authority of a prophet, uttered his commands, which it was instant death to disobey. Having begun with encouraging the multitude to pillage the

Establish a new form of government.

the churches, and deface their ornaments; he enjoined them to destroy all books except the Bible, as useless or impious; he appointed the estates of such as fled, to be confiscated, and sold to the inhabitants of the adjacent country; he ordered every man to bring forth his gold, silver, and precious effects, and to lay them at his feet; the wealth amassed by these means, he deposited in a publick treasury, and named deacons to dispense it for the common use of all. The members of this commonwealth being thus brought to a perfect equality, he commanded all of them to eat at tables prepared in publick, and even prescribed the dishes which were to be served up each day. Having finished his plan of reformation, his next care was to provide for the defence of the city; and he took measures for that purpose with a prudence which favoured nothing of fanaticism. He collected vast magazines of every kind; he repaired and extended the fortifications, obliging every person without distinction to work in his turn; he formed such as were capable of bearing arms into regular bodies, and endeavoured to add the vigour of discipline to the impetuosity of enthusiasm. He sent emissaries to the Anabaptists in the Low Countries inviting them to assemble at Munster, which he dignified with the name of Mount-Sion, that from thence they might set out to reduce all the nations of the earth under their dominion. He

BOOK V. himself was unwearied in attending to every
 1534. thing necessary for the security or increase of the
 sect; animating his disciples by his own example
 to refuse no labour, as well as to repine at no
 hardship; and their enthusiastic passions being
 kept from subsiding by a perpetual succession of
 exhortations, revelations, and prophecies, they
 seemed ready to undertake or to suffer any thing
 in maintenance of their opinions.

The bishop
 of Munster
 takes arms
 against
 them.

May.

John of
 Leyden ac-
 quires great
 authority

WHILE they were thus employed, the bishop of
 Munster having assembled a considerable army,
 advanced to besiege the town. On his approach,
 Matthias sallied out at the head of some chosen
 troops, attacked one quarter of his camp, forced
 it, and after great slaughter returned to the city
 loaded with glory and spoil. Intoxicated with
 this success, he appeared next day brandishing a
 spear, and declared, that, in imitation of Gideon,
 he would go forth with a handful of men and smite
 the host of the ungodly. Thirty persons, whom he
 named, followed him without hesitation in this
 wild enterprize, and rushing on the enemy with
 a frantick courage, were cut off to a man. The
 death of their prophet occasioned at first great
 consternation among his disciples, but Boc-
 cold, by the same gifts and pretensions which
 had gained Matthias credit, soon revived their
 spirits and hopes to such a degree, that he suc-
 ceeded him in the same absolute direction of all

their affairs. As he did not possess that enterprizing courage which distinguished his predecessor, he satisfied himself with carrying on a defensive war, and without attempting to annoy the enemy by sallies, he waited for the succours he expected from the Low Countries, the arrival of which was often foretold and promised by their prophets. But though less daring in action than Matthias, he was a wilder enthusiast, and of more unbounded ambition. Soon after the death of his predecessor, having, by obscure visions and prophecies, prepared the multitude for some extraordinary event, he stripped himself naked, and marching through the streets, proclaimed with a loud voice, "That the kingdom of Sion was at hand; that whatever was highest on earth should be brought low, and whatever was lowest should be exalted". In order to fulfil this, he commanded the churches, as the most lofty buildings in the city, to be levelled with the ground; he degraded the senators chosen by Matthias, and depriving Cnipperdoling of the consulship, the highest office in the commonwealth, he appointed him to execute the lowest and most infamous, that of common hangman, to which strange transition the other agreed, not only without murmuring but with the utmost joy; and such was the despotick rigour of Boccold's administration, that he was called almost every day to perform some duty or

BOOK V. other of his wretched function. In place of the
 1534. deposed senators, he named twelve judges, according to the number of tribes in Israel, to preside in all affairs; retaining to himself the same authority which Moses anciently possessed as legislator of that people.

Elected
 King.

June 24.

NOT satisfied, however, with power or titles which were not supreme, a prophet, whom he had gained and tutored, having called the multitude together, declared it to be the will of God, that John Boccold should be King of Sion, and sit on the throne of David. John kneeling down accepted of the heavenly call, which he solemnly protested had been revealed likewise to himself, and was immediately acknowledged as Monarch by the deluded multitude. From that moment he assumed all the state and pomp of royalty. He wore a crown of gold, and was clad in the richest and most sumptuous garments. A Bible was carried on his one hand, a naked sword on the other. A great body of guards accompanied him when he appeared in publick. He coined money stamped with his own image, and appointed the great officers of his household and kingdom, among whom Cnipperdoling was nominated governor of the city, as a reward for his former submission.

His licentious tenets and conduct.

HAVING now attained the height of power, Boccold began to discover passions, which he

had hitherto restrained or indulged only in secret. As the excesses of enthusiasm have been observed in every age to lead to sensual gratifications, the same constitution that is susceptible of the former, being remarkably prone to the latter, he instructed the prophets and teachers to harangue the people for several days concerning the lawfulness, and even necessity of taking more wives than one, which they asserted to be one of the privileges granted by God to the saints. When their ears were once accustomed to this licentious doctrine, and their passions inflamed with the prospect of such unbounded indulgence, he himself set them an example of using what he called their Christian liberty, by marrying at once three wives, among which the widow of Matthias, a woman of singular beauty, was one. As he was allured by beauty, or the love of variety, he gradually added to the number of his wives until they amounted to fourteen, though the widow of Matthias was the only one dignified with the title of Queen, or who shared with him the splendour and ornaments of royalty. After the example of their prophet, the multitude gave themselves up to the most licentious and uncontrouled gratification of their desires. No man remained satisfied with a single wife. Not to use their Christian liberty, was deemed a crime. Persons were appointed to search the houses for young women grown up to maturity,

Book V. whom they instantly compelled to marry. Together with polygamy, freedom of divorce, its inseparable attendant, was introduced, and became a new source of corruption. Every excess was committed of which the passions of men are capable, when restrained neither by the authority of laws nor the sense of decency⁵²; and by a monstrous and almost incredible conjunction, voluptuousness was engrafted on religion, and dissolute riot accompanied the austerities of fanatical devotion.

A confederacy against the Anabaptists.

MEANWHILE, the German princes were highly offended at the insult offered to their dignity by Boccold's presumptuous usurpation of royal honours; and the profligate manners of his followers, which were a reproach to the Christian

⁵² Prophetæ & concionatorum autoritate juxta et exemplo, tota urbe ad rapiendas pulcherrimas quasque fœminas discursum est. Nec intra paucos dies, in tanta hominum turba fere ulla reperta est supra annum decimum quartum quæ stuprum passa non fuerit. Lamb. Hortens. p. 303. Vulgò viris quinas esse uxores, pluribus fœnas, nonnullis septenas & octonas. Puellas supra duodecimum ætatis annum statim amare. Id. 305. Nemo una contentus fuit, neque cuiquam extra effœtas & viris immaturas continenti esse licuit. Id. 307. Tacebo hîc, ut sit suus honor auribus, quanta barbaria et malitia usi sunt in puellis vitiandis nondum aptis matrimonio, id quod mihi neque ex vano, neque ex vulgi sermonibus haustum est, sed ex ea vetula, cui cura sic vitiatarum demandata fuit, auditum. Joh. Corvinus, 316.

name, filled men of all professions with horror. Book V.
 Luther, who had testified against this fanatical 1535.
 spirit on its first appearance, now deeply lamented
 its progress, and exposing the delusion with
 great strength of argument, as well as acrimony
 of style, called loudly on all the states of Ger-
 many to put a stop to a phrenzy no less pernicious
 to society, than fatal to religion. The
 Emperor, occupied with other cares and pro-
 jects, had not leisure to attend to such a distant
 object, but the princes of the Empire, assem-
 bled by the King of the Romans, voted a supply
 of men and money to the bishop of Munster,
 who being unable to keep a sufficient army on
 foot, had converted the siege of the town into Besiege the
 a blockade. The forces raised in consequence town.
 of this resolution, were put under the command
 of an officer of experience, who approaching the
 town towards the end of spring in the year one
 thousand five hundred and thirty-five, pressed it
 more closely than formerly, but found the forti-
 fications so strong, and so diligently guarded,
 that he durst not attempt an assault. It was now
 above fifteen months since the Anabaptists had
 established their dominion in Munster; they had
 during that time undergone prodigious fatigue
 in working on the fortifications, and perform-
 ing military duty. Notwithstanding the prudent May.
 attention of their King to provide for their sub- Distress and
 sistence, and his frugal as well as regular œco- fanaticism
 nomy, of the be-
sieged.

BOOK V. 1535. nomy in their publick meals, they began to feel the approach of famine. Several small bodies of their brethren, who were advancing to their assistance from the Low Countries, had been intercepted, and cut to pieces; and while all Germany was ready to combine against them, they had no prospect of succour. But such was the ascendant which Boccold had acquired over the multitude, and so powerful the fascination of enthusiasm, that their hopes were as sanguine as ever, and they hearkened with implicit credulity to the visions and predictions of their prophets, who assured them, that the Almighty would speedily interpose, in order to deliver the city. The faith, however, of some few, shaken by the violence and length of their sufferings, began to fail; but being suspected of an inclination to surrender to the enemy, they were punished with immediate death, as guilty of impiety in distrusting the power of God. One of the King's wives, having uttered certain words which implied some doubt concerning his divine mission, he instantly called the whole number together, and commanding the blasphemer, as he called her, to kneel down, cut off her head with his own hands; and so far were the rest from expressing any horror at this cruel deed, that they joined him in dancing with a frantick joy around the bleeding body of their companion.

By this time, the besieged endured the utmost rigour of famine; but they chose rather to suffer hardships, the recital of which is shocking to humanity, than to listen to the terms of capitulation offered them by the bishop. At last, a deserter, whom they had taken into their service, being either less intoxicated with the fumes of enthusiasm, or unable any longer to bear such distress, made his escape to the enemy. He informed their general of a weak part in the fortifications which he had observed, and assuring him that the besieged, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, kept watch there with little care, he offered to lead a party thither in the night. The proposal was accepted, and a chosen body of troops appointed for the service; who, scaling the walls unperceived, seized one of the gates, and admitted the rest of the army. The Anabaptists, though surprised, defended themselves in the market-place with valour, heightened by despair; but being overpowered by numbers, and surrounded on every hand, most of them were slain, and the remainder taken prisoners. Among the last were the King and Cnipperdoling. The King, loaded with chains, was carried from city to city as a spectacle to gratify the curiosity of the people, and was exposed to all their insults. His spirit, however, was not broken or humbled by this sad reverse of his condition; and he adhered with unshaken

Book V.

1535.

The city
taken,
June 1.

June 24.

Punishment
of the King
and his associates.

BOOK V. firmness to the distinguishing tenets of his sect.

1535. After this he was brought back to Munster, the scene of his royalty and crimes, and put to death with the most exquisite as well as lingering tortures, all which he bore with astonishing fortitude. This extraordinary man, who had been able to acquire such amazing dominion over the minds of his followers, and to excite commotions so dangerous to society, was only twenty-six years of age⁶⁰.

Character
of the sect
since that
period.

TOGETHER with its Monarch, the kingdom of the Anabaptists came to an end. Their principles having taken deep root in the Low Countries, the party still subsists there, under the name of Mennonites; but by a very singular revolution, this sect, so mutinous and sanguinary at its first origin, hath become altogether innocent and pacifick. Holding it unlawful to wage war, or to accept of civil offices, they devote themselves entirely to the duties of private citizens, and by their industry and charity endeavour to make reparation to human society for the violence committed by their founders⁶¹. A

⁶⁰ Sleid. 190, &c. Tumultuum Anabaptistarum liber unus. Ant. Lamberto Hortensio auctore ap. Scardium, vol. ii. p. 298, &c. De Miserabili Monasteriensium obsidione, &c. libellus Antonii Corvini ap. Scard. 313. Annales Anabaptistici a Joh. Henrico Ottio, 4to. Basileæ, 1672. Cor. Heersbachius Hist. Anab. Edit. 1637. p. 140.

⁶¹ Bayle Diction. Art. *Anabaptistes*

small number of this sect which is settled in England, retain its peculiar tenets concerning baptism, but without any dangerous mixture of enthusiasm. Book V.
1535.

THE mutiny of the Anabaptists, though it drew general attention, did not so entirely engross the princes of Germany, as not to allow leisure for other transactions. The alliance between the French King and the confederates at Smalkalde, began about this time to produce great effects. Ulric, Duke of Wurtemberg, having been expelled his dominions in the year one thousand five hundred and nineteen, on account of his violent and oppressive administration, the house of Austria had got possession of his dutchy. That prince having now by a long exile atoned for the errors in his conduct, which were the effect rather of inexperience than of a tyrannical disposition, was become the object of general compassion. The Landgrave of Hesse, in particular, his near relation, warmly espoused his interest, and used many efforts to recover for him his ancient inheritance. But the King of the Romans obstinately refused to relinquish a valuable acquisition which his family had made with so much ease. The Landgrave, unable to compel him, applied to the King of France his new ally. Francis, eager to embrace any opportunity of distressing the house of Austria, and

Proceedings
and autho-
rity of the
league of
Smalkalde.

BOOK V. desirous of wresting from it a territory, which
 1535. gave it footing and influence in a part of Germany at a distance from its other dominions, encouraged the Landgrave to take arms, and secretly supplied him with a large sum of money. This he employed to raise troops, and marching with great expedition towards Wurtemberg, attacked, defeated, and dispersed a considerable body of Austrians, entrusted with the defence of the country. All the Duke's subjects hastened, with emulation, to receive their native Prince, and re-invested him with that authority which is still enjoyed by his descendants. At the same time the exercise of the Protestant religion was established in his dominions ⁶².

The King
 of the Ro-
 mans courts
 them.

FERDINAND, how sensible soever of this unexpected blow, not daring to attack a Prince whom all the Protestant powers in Germany were ready to support, judged it expedient to conclude a treaty with him, by which, in the most ample form, he recognized his title to the dutchy. The success of the Landgrave's operations in behalf of the Duke of Wurtemberg, having convinced Ferdinand that a rupture with a league so formidable as that of Smalkalde, was to be avoided with the utmost care, he entered likewise into a negociation with the Elector of

⁶² Sleid. 172. Bellay 159, &c.

Saxony, the head of that union, and by some concessions in favour of the Protestant religion, and others of advantage to the Emperor himself, he prevailed on him, together with his confederates, to acknowledge his title as King of the Romans. At the same time, in order to prevent any such precipitate or irregular election in times to come, it was agreed that no person should hereafter be promoted to that dignity without the unanimous consent of the Electors; and the Emperor soon after confirmed this stipulation ⁶³.

Book V.

1535.

THESE acts of indulgence towards the Protestants, and the close union into which the King of the Romans seemed to be entering with the Princes of that party, gave great offence at Rome. Paul III. though he had departed from a resolution of his predecessor, never to consent to the calling of a general council, and had promised, in the first consistory held after his election, that he would convoke that assembly so much desired by all Christendom, was no less enraged than Clement at the innovations in Germany, and no less averse to any scheme for reforming either the doctrines of the church, or the abuses in the court of Rome: But having been a witness of the universal censure which Clement had incurred by his obstinacy with re-

Paul III.

calls a general council to meet at Mantua.

⁶³ Sleid. 173. Corps Diplom. tom. iv. p. 2. 119.

BOOK V.

1535.

gard to these points, he hoped to avoid the same reproach by the seeming alacrity with which he proposed a council; flattering himself, however, that such difficulties would arise concerning the time and place of meeting, the persons who had a right to be present, and the order of their proceedings, as would effectually defeat the intention of those who demanded that assembly, without exposing himself to any imputation for refusing to call it. With this view he dispatched nuncios to the several courts; in order to make known his intention, and that he had fixed on Mantua as a proper place in which to hold the council. Such difficulties as the Pope had foreseen, immediately presented themselves in great number. The French King did not approve of the place which Paul had chosen, as the Papal and Imperial influence would necessarily be too great in a town situated in that part of Italy. The King of England not only concurred with Francis in urging that objection, but refused, besides, to acknowledge any council called in the name and by the authority of the Pope. The

Dec. 12. German Protestants having met together at Smalkalde, insisted on their original demand of a council to be held in Germany, and pleading the Emperor's promise, as well as the agreement at Ratisbon to that effect, declared that they would not consider an assembly held at Mantua as a legal or free representative of the church.

By this diversity of sentiments and views, such a field for intrigue and negociation opened, as made it easy for the Pope to assume the merit of being eager to assemble a council, while at the same time he could put off its meeting at pleasure. The Protestants on the other hand suspecting his designs, and sensible of the importance which they derived from their union, renewed for ten years the league of Smalkalde, which now became stronger and more formidable by the accession of several new members ⁶⁴.

BOOK V.
1535.

DURING these transactions in Germany, the Emperor undertook his famous enterprize against the piratical states in Africa. That part of the African continent lying along the coast of the Mediterranean sea, which anciently formed the kingdoms of Mauritania and Maffylia, together

The Empe-
ror's expe-
dition to
Africa, and
state of that
country.

⁶⁴ This league was concluded December, one thousand five hundred and thirty-five, but not extended or signed in form till September in the following year. The Princes who acceded to it were John Elector of Saxony, Ernest Duke of Brunswick, Philip Landgrave of Hesse, Ulric Duke of Wurtemberg, Barnim and Philip Dukes of Pomerania, John George, and Joachim Princes of Anhalt, Gebhard and Albert Count of Mansfield, William Count of Nassau. The cities, Strasburgh, Nuremberg, Constance, Ulm, Magdeburgh, Bremen, Reutlingen, Hailbron, Memmengen, Lindaw, Campen, Isna, Bibrac, Windsheim, Augsburgh, Frankfort, Essling, Brunswick, Goslar, Hanover, Gottingen, Eimbeck, Hamburgh, Minden.

BOOK V. with the republick of Carthage, and which is
1535. now known by the general name of Barbary, had undergone many revolutions. Subdued by the Romans, it became a province of their empire. Conquered afterwards by the Vandals, they erected a kingdom there. That being overturned by Belifarius, the country continued subject to the Greek Emperors, until it was overrun towards the end of the seventh century, by the rapine and irresistible arms of the Arabs. It remained for some time a part of that vast empire which the Caliphs governed with absolute authority. Its immense distance, however, from the seat of government, encouraged the descendants of those leaders, who had subdued the country, or the chiefs of the Moors, its ancient inhabitants, to throw off the yoke, and to set up for independence. The Caliphs, who derived their authority from a spirit of enthusiasm, more fitted for making conquests than for preserving them, were obliged to connive at acts of rebellion which they could not prevent; and Barbary was divided into several kingdoms, of which Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis were the most considerable. The inhabitants of these kingdoms were a mixed race, Arabs, Negroes from the southern provinces, and Moors, either natives of Africa, or who had been expelled out of Spain; all zealous professors of the Mahometan religion, and inflamed against Christianity with a bigotted hatred
propor-

proportional to their ignorance and barbarous manners. Book V.
1535.

AMONG these people, no less daring, inconsistent, and treacherous, than the ancient inhabitants of the same country described by the Roman historians, frequent seditions broke out, and many changes in government took place. These, as they affected only the internal state of a country so barbarous, are but little known, and deserve to be so: But about the beginning of the sixteenth century a sudden revolution happened, which, by rendering the states of Barbary formidable to the Europeans, hath made their history worthy of more attention. This revolution was brought about by persons born in a rank of life which entitled them to act no such illustrious part. Horuc and Hayradin, the sons of a potter in the isle of Lesbos, prompted by a restless and enterprizing spirit, forsook their father's trade, ran to sea, and joined a crew of pirates. They soon distinguished themselves by their valour and activity, and becoming masters of a small brigantine, carried on their infamous trade with such conduct and success, that they assembled a fleet of twelve galleys, besides many vessels of smaller force. Of this fleet Horuc, the elder brother, called Barbarossa from the red colour of his beard, was admiral, and Hayradin second in command, but with almost equal authority.

Rise of the
piratical
states,

and of the
Barbarossas.

BOOK V. They called themselves the friends of the sea,
1535. and the enemies of all who sail upon it; and their names soon became terrible from the Straits of the Dardanel to those of Gibraltar. Together with their fame and power, their ambitious views extended, and while acting as Corsairs they adopted the ideas, and acquired the talents of conquerors. They often carried the prizes which they took on the coasts of Spain and Italy into the ports of Barbary, and enriching the inhabitants by the sale of their booty, and the thoughtless prodigality of their crews, were welcome guests in every place at which they touched. The convenient situation of these harbours, lying so near the greatest commercial states at that time in Christendom, made the brothers wish for an establishment in that country. An opportunity of accomplishing this quickly presented itself, which they did not suffer to pass unimproved. Eutemi, King of Algiers, having attempted several times, without success, to take a fort which the Spanish governors of Oran had built not far from his capital, was so ill advised as to apply for aid to Barbarossa, whose valour the Africans considered as irresistible. The
1516. active Corsair gladly accepted of the invitation, and leaving his brother Hayradin with the fleet, marched at the head of five thousand men to Algiers, where he was received as their deliverer. Such a force gave him the command of the

town; and as he perceived that the Moors neither suspected him of any bad intention, nor were capable with their light armed troops of opposing his disciplined veterans, he secretly murdered the Monarch whom he had come to assist, and caused himself to be proclaimed King of Algiers in his stead. The authority which he had thus boldly usurped, he endeavoured to establish by arts suited to the genius of the people whom he had to govern; by liberality without bounds to those who favoured his promotion, and by cruelty no less unbounded towards all whom he had any reason to distrust. Not satisfied with the throne which he had acquired, he attacked the neighbouring King of Tremecen, and having vanquished him in battle, added his dominions to those of Algiers. At the same time, he continued to infest the coast of Spain and Italy with fleets which resembled the armaments of a great Monarch, rather than the light squadrons of a Corsair. The devastations which these committed, obliged Charles, about the beginning of his reign, to furnish the marquis de Comares, governor of Oran, with troops sufficient to attack him. That officer, assisted by the dethroned King of Tremecen, executed the commission with such spirit, that Barbarossa's troops being beat in several encounters, he himself was shut up in Tremecen. After defending it to the last extremity, he was overtaken in at-

Book V.
1535.
Horuc, the
elder brother,
becomes master
of Algiers.

1518.

BOOK V. tempting to make his escape, and slain while he
 1535. fought with an obstinate valour, worthy of his
 former fame and exploits.

The progress
 of Hayradin
 the second
 brother.

His brother Hayradin, known likewise by the name of Barbarossa, assumed the sceptre of Algiers with the same ambition and abilities, but with better fortune. His reign being undisturbed by the arms of the Spaniards, which had full occupation in the wars among the European powers, he regulated with admirable prudence the interior police of his kingdom, carried on his naval operations with great vigour, and extended his conquests on the continent of Africa. But, perceiving that the Moors and Arabs submitted to his government with the utmost reluctance, and being afraid that his continual depredations would, one day, draw upon him the arms of the Christians, he put his dominions under the protection of the Grand Seignior, and received from him a body of Turkish soldiers sufficient for his security against his domestick as well as his foreign enemies. At last, the fame of his exploits daily increasing, Solyman offered him the command of the Turkish fleet, as the only person whose valour and skill in naval affairs entitled him to command against Andrew Doria, the greatest sea-officer of that age. Proud of this distinction, Barbarossa repaired to Constantinople, and with a wonderful versatility of mind, mingling the

Puts his do-
 minions
 under the
 protection of
 the Sultan.

arts of a courtier with the boldness of a Corsair, gained the entire confidence both of the Sultan and his Vizier. To them he communicated a scheme which he had formed of making himself master of Tunis, the most flourishing kingdom, at that time, on the coast of Africa; and this being approved of by them, he obtained whatever he demanded for carrying it into execution.

His hopes of success in this undertaking were founded on the intestine divisions in the kingdom of Tunis. Mahmed, the last King of that country, having thirty-four sons by different wives, named Muley-Hascen, one of the youngest among them, his successor. That weak prince, who owed this preference not to his own merit, but to the ascendant which his mother had acquired over a Monarch doating with age, first poisoned Mahmed his father in order to prevent him from altering his destination; and then, with the barbarous policy which prevails wherever polygamy is permitted, and the right of succession is not precisely fixed, he put to death all his brothers whom he could get into his power. Alraschid, one of the eldest, was so fortunate as to escape his rage; and finding a retreat among the wandering Arabs, made several attempts, by the assistance of some of their chiefs, to recover the throne, which of right belonged to him. But these proving unsuccessful, and the Arabs,

BOOK V.
1535.

His scheme
for conquer-
ing Tunis.

BOOK V. from their natural levity, being ready to deliver
1535. him up to his merciless brother, he fled to Algiers, the only place of refuge remaining, and implored the protection of Barbarossa; who, discerning at once all the advantages which might be gained by supporting his title, received him with every possible demonstration of friendship and respect. Being ready, at that time, to set sail for Constantinople, he easily persuaded Alrafchid, whose eagerness to obtain a crown disposed him to believe or undertake any thing, to accompany him thither, promising him effectual assistance from Solyman, whom he represented to be the most generous, as well as most powerful, Monarch in the world. But no sooner were they arrived at Constantinople, than the false Corsair, regardless of all his promises to him, opened to the Sultan a plan for conquering Tunis, and annexing it to the Turkish empire, by making use of the name of this exiled Prince, and by means of the party ready to declare in his favour. Solyman approved, with too much facility, of this perfidious proposal, extremely suitable to the character of its author, but altogether unworthy of a great Prince. A powerful fleet and numerous army were soon assembled; at the sight of which the credulous Alrafchid flattered himself, that he would soon enter his capital in triumph.

BUT just as this unhappy Prince was going to Book V. embark, he was arrested by order of the Sultan, 1535. shut up in the seraglio, and was never heard of ^{Its success.} more. Barbarossa sailed with a fleet of two hundred and fifty vessels towards Africa. After ravaging the coasts of Italy, and spreading terror through every part of that country, he appeared before Tunis; and landing his men, gave out that he came to assert the right of Alraschid, whom he pretended to have left sick aboard the Admiral galley. The fort of Goletta, which commands the bay, soon fell into his hands, partly by his own address, partly by the treachery of its commander; and the inhabitants of Tunis, weary of Muley-Hascen's government, took arms, and declared for Alraschid with such zeal and unanimity, as obliged the former to fly so precipitately, that he left all his treasures behind him. The gates were immediately set open to Barbarossa, as the restorer of their lawful sovereign. But when Alraschid himself did not appear, and when instead of his name, that of Solyman alone was heard among the acclamations of the Turkish soldiers marching into the town, the people of Tunis began to suspect the Corsaire's treachery. Their suspicions being soon converted into certainty, they ran to arms with the utmost fury, and surrounded the citadel, into which Barbarossa had led his troops. But having foreseen such a revolution, he was not un-

BOOK V. prepared for it; he immediately turned against
 1535. them the artillery on the ramparts, and by one
 brisk discharge, dispersed the numerous but
 undirected assailants, and forced them to ac-
 knowledge Solyman as their sovereign, and to
 submit to himself as his viceroy.

Barbarossa's
 formidable
 power.

HIS first care was to put the kingdom, of
 which he had thus got possession, in a proper
 posture of defence. He strengthened the citadel
 which commands the town; and fortifying the
 Goletta in a regular manner, at vast expence,
 made it the principal station for his fleet, and
 his great arsenal for military as well as naval
 stores. Being now possessed of such extensive
 territories, he carried on his depredations against
 the Christian States to a greater extent, and with
 more destructive violence than ever. Daily com-
 plaints of the outrages committed by his cruizers
 were brought to the Emperor by his subjects,
 both in Spain and Italy. All Christendom
 seemed to expect from him, as its greatest and
 most fortunate Prince, that he would put an end
 to this new and odious species of oppression.

The exiled
 King of
 Tunis im-
 plores the
 Emperor's
 assistance.
 April 21,
 1535.

At the same time Muley-Hascen, the exiled
 King of Tunis, finding none of the Mahometan
 Princes in Africa willing or able to assist him in
 recovering his throne, applied to Charles as the
 only person who could assert his rights in oppo-

sition to such a formidable usurper. The Emperor, equally desirous of delivering his dominions from the dangerous neighbourhood of Barbarossa; of appearing as the protector of an unfortunate Prince; and of acquiring the glory annexed in that age, to every expedition against the Mahometans, readily concluded a treaty with Muley-Hascen, and began to prepare for invading Tunis. Having made trial of his own abilities for war in the late campaign in Hungary, he was now become so fond of the military character, that he determined to command on this occasion in person. The united strength of his dominions was called out upon an enterprize in which the Emperor was about to hazard his glory, and which drew the attention of all Europe. A Flemish fleet carried from the ports of the Low Countries a body of German infantry⁶⁵; the gallies of Naples and Sicily took on board the veteran bands of Italians and Spaniards, which had distinguished themselves by so many victories over the French; the Emperor himself embarked at Barcelona with the flower of the Spanish nobility, and was joined by a considerable squadron from Portugal, under the command of the Infant Don Lewis, the Empress's brother; Andrew Doria conducted his own gallies, the best appointed at that time in

His preparation for the expedition.

⁶⁵ Haræi Annales Brabant. i. 599.

BOOK V. Europe, and commanded by the most skilful officers: The Pope furnished all the assistance in his power towards such a pious enterprize; and the order of Malta, the perpetual enemies of the Infidels, equipped a squadron, which, though small, was formidable by the valour of the knights who served on board it. The port of Cagliari in Sardinia was the general place of rendezvous. Doria was appointed High Admiral of the fleet; the command of the land-forces under the Emperor was given to the marquis di Guaſto.

Lands in
Africa.

ON the sixteenth of July, the fleet, consisting of near five hundred vessels, having on board above thirty thousand regular troops, set sail from Cagliari, and after a prosperous navigation, landed within sight of Tunis. Barbarossa having received early intelligence of the Emperor's immense armament, and suspecting its destination, prepared with equal prudence and vigour for the defence of his new conquest. He called in all his corsairs from their different stations; he drew from Algiers what forces could be spared; he dispatched messengers to all the African Princes, Moors as well as Arabs, and by representing Muley-Hascen as an infamous apostate, prompted by ambition and revenge, not only to become the vassal of a Christian Prince, but to conspire with him to extirpate the Mahomedan faith, he inflamed those ignorant

and bigoted chiefs to such a degree, that they took arms as in a common cause. Twenty thousand horse, together with a vast body of foot, soon assembled at Tunis; and by a proper distribution of presents among them from time to time, Barbarossa kept the ardour which had brought them together from subsiding. But as he was too well acquainted with the enemy whom he had to oppose, to think that these light troops could resist the heavy-armed cavalry and veteran infantry which composed the Imperial army, his chief confidence was in the strength of the Go-
letta, and in his body of Turkish soldiers who were armed and disciplined after the European fashion. Six thousand of these, under the command of Sinan, a renegado Jew, the bravest and most experienced of all his corsairs, he threw into that fort, which the Emperor immediately invested. As Charles had the command of the sea, his camp was so plentifully supplied not only with the necessaries, but with all the luxuries of life, that Muley-Hascen, who had not been accustomed to see war carried on with such order and magnificence, was filled with admiration of the Emperor's power. His troops, animated by his presence, and considering it as meritorious to shed their blood in such a pious cause, contended with each other for the posts of honour and danger. Three separate attacks were concerted, and the Germans, Spaniards, and

Book V.

1535.

Lays siege to
Goletta.

BOOK V. 1535. Italians, having one of these committed to each of them, pushed them forward with the eager courage which national emulation inspires. Sinan displayed resolution and skill becoming the confidence which his master had put in him; the garrison performed the hard service on which they were ordered with great fortitude. But though he interrupted the besiegers by frequent sallies, though the Moors and Arabs alarmed the camp with their continual incursions; the breaches soon became so considerable towards the land, while the fleet battered those parts of the fortifications which it could approach with no less fury and success, that an assault being given on all sides at once, the place was taken by storm. Sinan, with the remains of his garrison, retired, after an obstinate resistance, over a shallow part of the bay towards the city. By the reduction of the Goletta, the Emperor became master of Barbarossa's fleet, consisting of eighty-seven gallies and galliots, together with his arsenal, and three hundred cannon, mostly brass, which were planted on the ramparts; a prodigious number in that age, and a remarkable proof of the strength of the fort, as well as of the greatness of the corsair's power. The Emperor marched into the Goletta through the breach, and turning to Muley-Hascen who attended him, "Here," says he, "is a gate open

Takes it by
storm.
July 25.

to you, by which you shall return to take possession of your dominions." BOOK V.

1535.

BARBAROSSA, though he felt the full weight of the blow which he had received, did not, however, lose courage, or abandon the defence of Tunis. But as the walls were of great extent, and extremely weak; as he could not depend on the fidelity of the inhabitants, nor hope that the Moors and Arabs would sustain the hardships of a siege, he boldly determined to advance with his army, which amounted to fifty thousand men “, towards the Imperial camp, and to decide the fate of his kingdom by the issue of a battle. This resolution he communicated to his principal officers, and representing to them the fatal consequences which might follow, if ten thousand Christian slaves, whom he had shut up in the citadel, should attempt to mutiny during the absence of the army, he proposed as a necessary precaution for the publick security, to massacre them without mercy before he began his march. They all approved warmly of his intention to fight; but inured as they were, in their piratical depredations, to scenes of bloodshed and cruelty, the barbarity of his proposal concerning the slaves, filled them with horror; and Barbarossa, rather from the dread of irritat-

“ Epistres des Princes, par Ruscelli, p. 119, &c.

BOOK V. ing them, than swayed by motives of humanity,
1535. consented to spare the lives of the slaves.

Defeats
Barbarossa's
army.

By this time the Emperor had begun to advance towards Tunis; and though his troops suffered inconceivable hardships in their march, over burning sands, destitute of water, and exposed to the intolerable heat of the sun, they soon came up with the enemy. The Moors and Arabs, emboldened by their vast superiority in number, immediately rushed on to the attack with loud shouts, but their undisciplined courage could not long stand the shock of regular battalions; and though Barbarossa, with admirable presence of mind, and by exposing his own person to the greatest dangers, endeavoured to rally them, the rout became so general, that he himself was hurried along with them in their flight back to the city. There he found every thing in the utmost confusion; some of the inhabitants flying with their families and effects; others ready to set open their gates to the conqueror; the Turkish soldiers preparing to retreat; and the citadel, which in such circumstances might have afforded him some refuge, already in the possession of the Christian captives. These unhappy men, rendered desperate by their situation, had laid hold on the opportunity which Barbarossa dreaded. As soon as his army was at some distance from the town, they gained two of their

keepers, by whose assistance, knocking off their Book V.
fettters, and bursting open their prisons, they 1535.
overpowered the Turkish garrison, and turned
the artillery of the fort against their former
masters. Barbarossa, disappointed and enraged,
exclaiming sometimes against the false compas-
sion of his officers, and sometimes condemning
his own imprudent compliance with their opi-
nion, fled precipitately to Bona.

MEANWHILE Charles, satisfied with the easy Tunis sur-
and almost bloodless victory which he had renders.
gained, and advancing slowly with the precau-
tion necessary in an enemy's country, did not
yet know the whole extent of his own good for-
tune. But at last, a messenger dispatched by
the slaves acquainted him with the success of
their noble effort, for the recovery of their liber-
ty; and at the same time deputies arrived from
the town, in order to present him the keys of
their gates, and to implore his protection from
military violence. While he was deliberating
concerning the proper measures for this purpose,
the soldiers, fearing that they should be deprived
of the booty which they had expected, rushed
suddenly, and without orders, into the town,
and began to kill and plunder without distinc-
tion. It was then too late to restrain their
cruelty, their avarice, or licentiousness. All the
outrages of which soldiers are capable in the fury
of a storm, all the excesses of which men can

Book V. be guilty when their passions are heightened
 1535. by the contempt and hatred which difference in
 manners and religion inspire, were committed.
 Above thirty thousand of the innocent inhabit-
 ants perished on that unhappy day, and ten
 thousand were carried away as slaves. Muley-
 Hascen took possession of a throne surrounded
 with carnage, abhorred by his subjects on whom
 he had brought such calamities, and pitied even
 by those whose rashness had been the occasion of
 them. The Emperor lamented the fatal acci-
 dent which had stained the lustre of his victory;
 and amidst such a scene of horror there was but
 one spectacle that afforded him any satisfaction.
 Ten thousand Christian slaves, among whom
 were several persons of distinction, met him as
 he entered the town; and falling on their knees,
 thanked and blessed him as their deliverer.

Restores the
 exiled King
 to his
 throne.

AT the same time that Charles accomplished
 his promise to the Moorish King of re-establish-
 ing him in his dominions, he did not neglect
 what was necessary for bridling the power of the
 African corsairs, for the security of his own sub-
 jects, and for the interest of the Spanish crown:
 In order to gain these ends, he concluded a
 treaty with Muley-Hascen on the following con-
 ditions; that he should hold the kingdom of
 Tunis in fee of the crown of Spain, and do ho-
 mage to the Emperor as his liege lord; that
 all the Christian slaves now within his domi-
 nions,

nions, of whatever nation, should be set at liberty without ransom; that no subject of the Emperor's should for the future be detained in servitude; that no Turkish corsair should be admitted into the ports of his dominions; that free trade, together with the publick exercise of the Christian religion, should be allowed to all the Emperor's subjects; that the Emperor should not only retain the Goletta, but that all the other sea-ports in the kingdom which were fortified should be put into his hands; that Muley-Hascen should pay annually twelve thousand crowns for the subsistence of the Spanish garrison in the Goletta; that he should enter into no alliance with any of the Emperor's enemies, and should present to him every year, as an acknowledgment of his vassalage, six Moorish horses, and as many hawks⁶⁷. Having thus settled the affairs of Africa; chastised the insolence of the corsairs; secured a safe retreat for the ships of his subjects, and a proper station to his own fleets, on that coast from which he was most infested by piratical depredations; Charles embarked again for Europe, the tempestuous weather, and sickness among his troops, not permitting him to pursue Barbarossa⁶⁸.

Book V.

1535.

August 17.

⁶⁷ Du Monts Corps Diplomat. ii. 128. Summonte Hist. di Napoli, iv. 89.

⁶⁸ Joh. Etropii Diarium Expedition. Tunetanæ ap. Scard. v. ii. p. 320, &c. Jovii Histor. lib. xxxiv. 153, &c.

BOOK V. BY this expedition, the merit of which seems
 1535. to have been estimated in that age, rather by
 The glory which the Emperor acquired. the apparent generosity of the undertaking, the
 magnificence wherewith it was conducted, and
 the success which crowned it, than by the im-
 portance of the consequences that attended it,
 the Emperor attained a greater height of glory
 than at any other period of his reign. Twenty
 thousand slaves whom he freed from bondage,
 either by his arms, or by his treaty with Muley-
 Hascen⁶⁹. each of whom he clothed and fur-
 nished with the means of returning to their
 respective countries, spread all over Europe the
 fame of their benefactor's munificence, extolling
 his power and abilities with the exaggeration
 flowing from gratitude and admiration. In com-
 parison with him, the other Monarchs of Eu-
 rope made an inconsiderable figure. They
 seemed to be solicitous about nothing but
 their private and particular interests; while
 Charles, with an elevation of sentiment which
 became the chief Prince in Christendom, ap-
 peared to be concerned for the honour of the
 Christian name, and attentive to the publick se-
 curity and welfare.

Sandov. ii. 154, &c. Vertot. Hist. des Cheval. de Malthe.
 Epistres des Princes, par Ruscelli, traduites par Belleforest,
 p. 119, 120, &c. Anton. Pontii Consentini Hist. Belli adv.
 Barbar. ap. Matthæi Analecta.

⁶⁹ Summonte Hist. di Nap. vol. iv. p. 103.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF THE
EMPEROR CHARLES V.
BOOK VI.

UNFORTUNATELY for the reputation of Francis I. among his contemporaries, his conduct, at this juncture, appeared a perfect contrast to that of his rival, as he laid hold on the opportunity afforded him, by the Emperor's having turned his whole force against the common enemy, to revive his pretensions in Italy, and to plunge Europe into a new war. The treaty of Cambray, as has been observed, did not remove the causes of enmity between the two contending Princes; it covered up, but did

BOOK VI.

1535.

The causes
of a new
war between
the Empe-
ror and
Francis.

BOOK VI. not extinguish the flames of discord. Francis,
1535. in particular, who waited with impatience for a proper occasion of recovering the reputation as well as territories which he had lost, continued to carry on his negociations in different courts against the Emperor, taking the utmost pains to heighten the jealousy which many Princes entertained of his power or designs, and to inspire the rest with the same suspicion and fear: Among others, he applied to Francis Sforza, who, though indebted to Charles for the possession of the dutchy of Milan, had received it on such hard conditions, as rendered him not only a vassal of the Empire, but a tributary dependant upon the Emperor. The honour of having married the Emperor's niece, did not reconcile him to this ignominious state of subjection, which became so intolerable even to Sforza, a weak and poor-spirited Prince, that he listened with eagerness to the first proposals Francis made of rescuing him from the yoke. These proposals were conveyed to him by Maraviglia, or Merveille, as he is called by the French historians, a Milanese gentleman residing at Paris; and soon after, in order to carry on the negociation with greater advantage, Merveille was sent to Milan, on pretence of visiting his relations, but with secret credentials from Francis as his envoy. In this character he was received by Sforza. But notwithstanding his care to keep that circum-

stance concealed, Charles suspecting, or having received information of it, remonstrated and threatened in such an high tone, that the Duke and his ministers, equally intimidated, gave the world immediately a most infamous proof of their servile fear of offending the Emperor. As Merveille had neither the prudence nor the temper which the function wherein he was employed required, they artfully decoyed him into a quarrel, in which he happened to kill his antagonist, one of the Duke's domesticks, and having instantly seized him, they ordered him to be tried for that crime, and to be beheaded. Francis, no less astonished at this violation of a character held sacred among the most uncivilized nations, than enraged at the insult offered to the dignity of his crown, threatened Sforza with the effects of his indignation, and complained to the Emperor, whom he considered as the real author of that unexampled outrage. But meeting with no satisfaction from either, he appealed to all the Princes of Europe, and thought himself now entitled to take vengeance for an injury, which it would have been indecent and pusillanimous to let pass with impunity.

BOOK VI.
1535.

Dec. 1533.

BEING thus furnished with a pretext for beginning a war, on which he had already resolved, he multiplied his efforts in order to draw in other Princes to take part in the quarrel. But all his

Francis destitute of allies.

BOOK VI. measures for this purpose were disconcerted by
 1535. unforeseen events. After having sacrificed the honour of his house by the marriage of his son with Catharine of Medici, in order to gain Clement, the death of that Pontiff had deprived him of all the advantages which he expected to derive from his friendship. Paul, his successor, though attached by inclination to the Imperial interest, seemed determined to maintain the neutrality suitable to his character as the common father of the contending Princes. The King of England occupied with domestick cares and projects, declined for once, engaging in the affairs of the continent, and refused to assist Francis, unless he would imitate his example, in throwing off the Papal supremacy. These disappointments led him to solicit, with greater earnestness, the aid of the Protestant Princes associated by the league of Smalkalde. That he might the more easily acquire their confidence, he endeavoured to accommodate himself to their predominant passion, zeal for their religious tenets. He affected a wonderful moderation with regard to the points in dispute; he permitted Bellay, his envoy in Germany, to explain his sentiments concerning some of the most important articles, in terms not far different from those used by the Protestants^r; he even condescended to invite

His negotiations with the German Protestants.

^r Freheri Script. Rer. German. iii. 354, &c. Sleid. Hist. 178. 183. Seckend. lib. iii. 103.

Melancthon, whose gentle manners and pacifick spirit distinguished him among the Reformers, to visit Paris, that by his assistance he might concert the most proper measures for reconciling the contending sects, which so unhappily divided the church². These concessions must be considered rather as arts of policy, than the result of conviction; for whatever impression the new opinions in religion had made on his sisters, the Queen of Navarre and Dutcheſs of Ferrara, the gaiety of Francis's own temper, and his love of pleasure, allowed him little leiſure to examine theological controversies.

BUT ſoon after he loſt all the fruits of this diſingenuous artifice, by a ſtep very inconſiſtent with his declarations to the German Princes. This ſtep, however, the prejudices of the age, and the religious ſentiments of his own ſubjects, rendered it neceſſary for him to take. His cloſe union with the King of England, an excommunicated heretick; his frequent negotiations with the German Proteſtants; but above all, his giving publick audience to an envoy from Sultan Solymán, had excited violent ſuſpicions concerning the ſincerity of his attachment to religion. To have attacked the Emperor, who, on all occaſions, made high pretenſions to zeal

² Camerarii Vita Ph. Melancthonis, 12°. Hag. 1655. p. 12.

BOOK VI. in defence of the Catholick faith, and at the very
1535. juncture when he was preparing for his expedition against Barbarossa, which was then considered as a pious enterprize, could not have failed to confirm such unfavourable sentiments with regard to Francis, and called on him to vindicate himself by some extraordinary demonstration of his reverence for the established doctrines of the church. The indiscreet zeal of some of his subjects, who had imbibed the Protestant opinions, furnished him with such an occasion as he desired. They had affixed to the gates of the Louvre, and other publick places, papers containing indecent reflections on the doctrines and rites of the Popish church. Six of the persons concerned in this rash action were discovered and seized. The King, in order to avert the judgments which it was supposed their blasphemies might draw down upon the nation, appointed a solemn procession. The holy sacrament was carried through the city in great pomp; Francis walked uncovered before it, bearing a torch in his hand; the Princes of the blood supported the canopy over it; the nobles marched in order behind. In the presence of this numerous assembly, the King, accustomed to express himself on every subject in strong and animated language, declared that if one of his hands were infected with heresy he would cut it off with the other, and would not spare even his own

children, if found guilty of that crime. As a Book VI.
dreadful proof of his being in earnest, the six un- 1535.
happy persons were publickly burnt before the
procession was finished, with circumstances of
the most shocking barbarity attending their exe-
cution³.

THE Princes of the league of Smalkalde, filled They refuse
with resentment and indignation at the cruelty to join him.
with which their brethren were treated, could
not conceive Francis to be sincere, when he
offered to protect in Germany those very tenets,
which he persecuted with such rigour in his own
dominions; so that all Bellay's art and eloquence
in vindicating his master, or apologizing for his
conduct, made but little impresson upon them.
They considered likewise, that the Emperor,
who hitherto had never employed violence against
the doctrines of the Reformers, nor even given
them much molestation in their progress, was
now bound by the agreement at Ratisbon, not
to disturb such as had embraced the new opi-
nions; and the Protestants wisely regarded this
as a more certain and immediate security, than
the precarious and distant hopes with which
Francis endeavoured to allure them. Besides,
the manner in which he had behaved to his allies
at the peace of Cambray, was too recent to be

³ Belcarii Comment. Rex. Gallic. 646. Sleid. Hist.
175, &c.

BOOK VI. forgotten, and did not encourage others to rely
 1535. much on his friendship or generosity. Upon
 all these accounts, the Protestant Princes refused
 to assist the French King in any hostile attempt
 against the Emperor. The Elector of Saxony,
 the most zealous among them, in order to avoid
 giving any umbrage to Charles, would not per-
 mit Melancthon to visit the court of France,
 although that Reformer, flattered perhaps by
 the invitation of so great a monarch, or hoping
 that his presence there might be of signal advan-
 tage to the Protestant cause, discovered a strong
 inclination to undertake the journey⁴.

The French
 army advan-
 ces towards
 Italy.

BUT though none of the many Princes who
 envied or dreaded the power of Charles, would
 second Francis's efforts in order to reduce and
 circumscribe it, he, nevertheless, commanded
 his army to advance towards the frontiers of
 Italy. As his sole pretext for taking arms was
 that he might chastise the Duke of Milan for his
 insolent and cruel breach of the law of nations,
 it might have been expected that the whole
 weight of his vengeance was to have fallen on
 his territories. But on a sudden, and at their
 very commencement, the operations of war took
 another direction. Charles, Duke of Savoy, one
 of the least active and able Princes of the line

⁴ Camerarii Vita Melan. 142, &c. 415. Seckend. lib. iii.
 107.

from which he descended, had married Beatrix of Portugal, the Empress's sister. By her great talents, she soon acquired an absolute ascendant over her husband: and proud of her affinity to the Emperor, or allured by the magnificent promises with which he flattered her ambition, she formed an union between the Duke and the Imperial court, extremely inconsistent with that neutrality, which wise policy as well as the situation of his dominions had hitherto induced him to observe in all the quarrels between the contending Monarchs. Francis was abundantly sensible of the distress to which he might be exposed, if, when he entered Italy, he should leave behind him the territories of a Prince, devoted so obsequiously to the Emperor, that he had sent his eldest son to be educated in the court of Spain, as a kind of hostage for his fidelity. Clement the Seventh, who had represented this danger in a strong light during his interview with Francis at Marseilles, suggested to him, at the same time, the proper method of guarding against it, having advised him to begin his operations against the Milanese, by taking possession of Savoy and Piedmont, as the only certain way of securing a communication with his own dominions. Francis, highly irritated at the Duke on many accounts, particularly for having supplied the Constable Bourbon with the money that enabled him to levy the body of troops

Book VI.

1535.

Takes possession of the Duke of Savoy's dominions.

BOOK VI. 1535. which ruined the French army in the fatal battle of Pavia, was not unwilling to let him now feel both how deeply he repented, and how severely he could punish these injuries. Nor did he want several pretexts which gave some colour of equity to the violence that he intended. The territories of France and Savoy lying contiguous to each other, and intermingled in many places, various disputes, unavoidable in such a situation, subsisted concerning the limits of their respective property; and besides, Francis, in right of his mother Louise of Savoy, had large claims upon the Duke her brother, for her share in their father's succession. Being unwilling, however, to begin hostilities without some cause of quarrel more specious than these pretensions, many of which were obsolete, and others dubious, he demanded permission to march through Piedmont in his way to the Milanese, hoping that the Duke, from an excess of attachment to the Imperial interest, might refuse this request, and thus give a greater appearance of justice to all his operations against him. But, if we may believe the historians of Savoy, who appear to be better informed with regard to this particular than those of France; the Duke readily, and with a good grace, granted what it was not in his power to deny, promising free passage to the French troops as was desired; so that Francis, as the only method now left of justifying the

measures which he determined to take, was obliged to insist for full satisfaction with regard to every thing that either the crown of France or his mother Louise could demand of the house of Savoy^s. Such an evasive answer, as might have been expected, being made to this requisition, the French army under the admiral Brion poured at once into the Duke's territories at different places. The countries of Bresse and Bugey, united at that time to Savoy, were overrun in a moment. Most of the towns in the dutchy of Savoy opened their gates at the approach of the enemy; a few which attempted to make resistance were easily forced; and before the end of the campaign, the Duke saw himself stripped of all his dominions, but the province of Piedmont, in which there were not many places in a condition to be defended.

To complete the Duke's misfortunes, the city of Geneva, the sovereignty of which he claimed, and in some degree possessed, threw off his yoke, and its revolt drew along with it the loss of the adjacent territories. Geneva was, at that time, an Imperial city; and though under the direct dominion of its own bishops, and the remote sovereignty of the Dukes of Savoy, the form of its internal constitution was purely republican,

The city of Geneva recovers its liberty.

^s Histoire Généalogique de Savoye, par Guichenon. 2 tom. fol. Lyon. 1660, i. 639, &c.

BOOK VI. being governed by syndics and a council chosen
 1535. by the citizens. From these distinct and often
 clashing jurisdictions, two opposite parties took
 their rise, and had long subsisted in the state;
 the one composed of the advocates for the pri-
 vileges of the community, assumed the name of
Eignotz, or confederates in defence of liberty;
 and branded the other, which supported the epis-
 copal or ducal prerogatives, with the name of
Mammelukes or slaves. At length, the Protestant
 1532. opinions beginning to spread among the citizens,
 inspired such as embraced them with that bold
 enterprizing spirit which always accompanied or
 was naturally produced by them in their first ope-
 rations. As both the Duke and Bishop were
 from interest, from prejudice, and from political
 considerations, violent enemies of the Reforma-
 tion, all the new converts joined with warmth
 the party of the *Eignotz*; and zeal for religion,
 mingling with the love of liberty, added strength
 to that generous passion. The rage and animos-
 ity of two factions, shut up within the same
 walls, occasioned frequent insurrections, which
 terminating mostly to the advantage of the
 friends of liberty, they daily gained ground.

The Duke and Bishop, forgetting their an-
 cient contests about jurisdiction, had united
 against their common enemies, and each attack-
 ed them with his proper weapons. The Bishop

excommunicated the people of Geneva as guilty of a double crime; of impiety, in apostatizing from the established religion; and of sacrilege, in invading the rights of his see. The Duke attacked them as rebels against their lawful Prince, and attempted to render himself master of the city, first by surprize, and then by open force. The citizens, despising the thunder of the Bishop's censures, boldly asserted their independence against the Duke; and partly by their own valour, partly by the powerful assistance which they received from their allies, the canton of Berne, together with some small supplies both of men and money, secretly furnished by the King of France, they defeated all his attempts. Not satisfied with having repulsed him, or with remaining always upon the defensive themselves, they now took advantage of the Duke's inability to resist them, while overwhelmed by the armies of France, and seized several castles and places of strength which he possessed in the neighbourhood of Geneva; thus delivering the city from those odious monuments of its former subjection, and rendering the publick liberty more secure for the future. At the same time the canton of Berne invaded and conquered the Pays de Vaud, to which it had some pretensions. The canton of Friburgh, though zealously attached to the Catholick religion, and having no subject of contest with the Duke, laid hold on

BOOK VI.

1535.

1534.

BOOK VI. part of the spoils of that unfortunate Prince. A
 1535. great portion of these conquests or usurpations
 being still retained by the two cantons, add considerably to their power, and have become the most valuable part of their territories. Geneva, notwithstanding many schemes and enterprizes of the Dukes of Savoy to re-establish their dominion there, still keeps possession of its independence, and in consequence of that blessing, has attained a degree of consideration, wealth and elegance, which it could not otherwise have reached⁶.

The Emperor unable to assist the Duke of Savoy.

AMIDST such a succession of disastrous events, the Duke of Savoy had no other resource but the Emperor's protection, which upon his return from Tunis, he demanded with the most earnest importunity; and as his misfortunes were occasioned chiefly by his attachment to the Imperial interest, he had a just title to immediate assistance. Charles, however, was not in a condition to support him with that vigour and dispatch which the exigency of his affairs called for. Most of the troops employed in the African expedition, having been raised for that service alone, were disbanded as soon as it was

⁶ Hist. de la Ville de Geneve, par Spon. 12^o. Utr. 1685. p. 99. Hist. de la Reformation de Suisse, par Rouchat, Gen. 1728. tom. iv. p. 294, &c. tom. v. p. 216, &c. Mém. de Bellay, 181.

finished;

finished; the veteran forces under Antonio de Leyva were hardly sufficient for the defence of the Milanese; and the Emperor's treasury was entirely drained by his vast efforts against the Infidels. Book VI
1535.

BUT the death of Francis Sforza, occasioned, according to some historians, by the terror of a French invasion, which had twice been fatal to his Family, afforded the Emperor full leisure to prepare for action. By this unexpected event, the nature of the war, and the causes of discord, were totally changed. Francis's first pretext for taking arms, in order to chastise Sforza for the insult offered to the dignity of his crown, was at once cut off; but as that Prince died without issue, all Francis's rights to the duchy of Milan, which he had yielded only to Sforza and his posterity, returned back to him in full force. As the recovery of the Milanese was the favourite object of that Monarch, he instantly renewed his claim to it; and if he had supported his pretensions by ordering the powerful army quartered in Savoy to advance without losing a moment towards Milan, he could hardly have failed to secure the important point of possession. But Francis, who became daily less enterprising as he advanced in years, and who was overawed at some times into an excess of caution by the remembrance of his past misfortunes, endea-

Oct. 24.
Death of
Sforza Duke
of Milan.

BOOK VI. voured to establish his rights by negociation,
1535. not by arms; and from a timid moderation,
Francis's fatal in all great affairs, neglected to improve
pretensions the favourable opportunity which presented it-
to that self. Charles was more decisive in his opera-
dutchy. tions, and in quality of sovereign, took pos-
session of the dutchy, as a vacant fief of the Em-
pire. While Francis endeavoured to explain and
assert his title to it, by arguments and memo-
rials, or employed various arts in order to recon-
cile the Italian powers to the thoughts of his re-
gaining footing in Italy, his rival was silently tak-
ing effectual steps to prevent it. The Emperor,
however, was very careful not to discover too
early any intention of this kind; but seeming to
admit the equity of Francis's claim, he appeared
solicitous only about giving him possession in
such a manner as might not disturb the peace of
Europe, or overturn the balance of power in Italy,
which the politicians of that country were so fond
of preserving. By this artifice he deceived Francis,
and gained so much confidence with the rest of
Europe, that almost without incurring any sus-
picion, he involved the affair in new difficulties,
and protracted the negociations at pleasure.
Sometimes he proposed to grant the investiture
of Milan to the Duke of Orleans, Francis's
second son, sometimes to the Duke of Angou-
lême, his third son; as the views and inclinations
of the French court varied, he transferred his

choice alternately from the one to the other, BOOK VI.
 with such profound and well-conducted dissimu- 1535.
 lation; that neither Francis nor his ministers
 seem to have penetrated his real intention; and
 all military operations were entirely suspended,
 as if nothing had remained but to enter quietly
 into possession of what they demanded.

DURING the interval gained in this manner, 1536.
 Charles, on his return from Tunis, assembled Charles's
 the states both of Sicily and Naples, and as they preparations
 thought themselves greatly honoured by the pre- for war.
 fence of their sovereign, and were no less pleased
 with the apparent disinterestedness of his expe-
 dition into Africa, than dazzled by the success
 which had attended his arms, prevailed on them
 to vote him such liberal subsidies as were seldom
 granted in that age. This enabled him to re-
 cruit his veteran troops, to levy a body of Ger-
 mans, and to take every other proper precaution
 for executing or supporting the measures on
 which he had determined. Bellay, the French
 envoy in Germany, having discovered the inten-
 tion of raising troops in that country, notwith-
 standing all the pretexts employed in order to
 conceal it, first alarmed his master with this evi-
 dent proof of the Emperor's insincerity⁷. But
 Francis was so possessed at that time with the

⁷ Mém. de Bellay, 192.

BOOK VI. rage of negociation, in all the artifices and re-
 1536. finements of which his rival far surpassed him, that instead of beginning his military operations, and pushing them with vigour, or seizing the Milanese before the Imperial army was assembled, he satisfied himself with making new offers to the Emperor, in order to procure the investiture by his voluntary deed. His offers were, indeed, so liberal and advantageous, that if ever Charles had intended to grant his demand, he could not have rejected them with decency. He dexterously eluded them by declaring that, until he consulted the Pope in person, he could not take his final resolution with regard to a point which so nearly concerned the peace of Italy. By this evasion he gained some farther time for ripening the schemes which he had in view.

The Empe-
 ror enters
 Rome.
 April 6.

THE Emperor at last advanced towards Rome, and made his publick entry into that city with extraordinary pomp; but it being found necessary to remove the ruins of an ancient temple of Peace, in order to widen one of the streets, through which the cavalcade had to pass, all the historians take notice of this trivial circumstance, which they are fond to interpret as an omen of the bloody war that followed. Charles, it is certain, had by this time banished all thoughts of peace; and at last threw off the mask, with which he had so long covered his designs from

the court of France, by a declaration of his sentiments no less singular than explicit. The French ambassadors having in their master's name demanded a definitive reply to his propositions concerning the investiture of Milan, Charles promised to give it next day in presence of the Pope and Cardinals assembled in full consistory. These being accordingly met, and all the foreign ambassadors invited to attend, the Emperor stood up, and addressing himself to the Pope, expatiated for some time on the sincerity of his own wishes for the peace of Christendom, as well as his abhorrence of war, the miseries of which he enumerated at great length, with studied and elaborate oratory; he complained that all his endeavours to preserve the tranquillity of Europe had hitherto been defeated by the restless and unjust ambition of the French King; that even during his minority he had proofs of the unfriendly and hostile intentions of that Monarch, that afterwards, he had openly attempted to wrest from him the Imperial crown which belonged to him by a title no less just than natural; that he had next invaded his kingdom of Navarre; that not satisfied with this, he had attacked his territories as well as those of his allies both in Italy and the Low Countries; that when the valour of the Imperial troops, rendered irresistible by the protection of the Almighty, had checked his progress, ruined his armies, and

BOOK VI.
1536.

His publick
invective
against
Francis.

BOOK VI. seized his person, he continued to pursue by de-
 1536. ceit what he had undertaken with injustice; that
 he had violated every article in the treaty of
 Madrid to which he owed his liberty, and as
 soon as he returned to his dominions took mea-
 sures for rekindling the war which that pacifi-
 cation had happily extinguished; that when new
 misfortunes compelled him to sue again for
 peace at Cambray, he concluded and observed
 it with equal insincerity; that soon thereafter he
 had formed dangerous connexions with the here-
 tical Princes in Germany, and incited them to
 disturb the tranquillity of the Empire; that now
 he had driven the Duke of Savoy, his brother-
 in-law and ally, out of the greater part of his ter-
 ritories; that after injuries so often repeated, and
 amidst so many sources of discord, all hope of
 amity or concord became desperate; and though
 he was still willing to grant the investiture of
 Milan to one of the Princes of France, there was
 little probability of that event's taking place, as
 Francis, on the one hand, would not consent to
 what he judged necessary for securing the tran-
 quillity of Europe, nor, on the other, could he
 think it reasonable or safe to give a rival the un-
 conditional possession of all that he demanded.
 Let us not, however, added he, continue wan-
 tonly to shed the blood of our innocent subjects;
 let us decide the quarrel man to man, with what
 arms he pleases to chuse, in our shirts, on an

Challenges
 him to
 single com-
 bat.

island, a bridge, or aboard a galley moored in a river; let the dutchy of Burgundy be put in deposit on his part, and that of Milan on mine; these shall be the prize of the conqueror; and after that, let the united forces of Germany, Spain, and France, be employed to humble the power of the Turk, and to extirpate heresy out of Christendom. But if he, by declining this method of terminating our differences, renders war inevitable, nothing shall divert me from prosecuting it to such extremity, as shall reduce one of us to be the poorest gentleman in his own dominions. Nor do I fear that it will be on me this misfortune shall fall; I enter upon action with the fairest prospect of success; the justice of my cause, the union of my subjects, the number and valour of my troops, the experience and fidelity of my generals, all combine to ensure it. Of all these advantages, the King of France is destitute; and were my resources no more certain, and my hopes of victory no better founded than his, I would instantly throw myself at his feet, and with folded hands, and rope about my neck, implore his mercy^s.

THIS long harangue the Emperor delivered with an elevated voice, a haughty tone, and the greatest vehemence of expression and gesture. The French ambassadors, who did not fully

^s Bellay, 199. Sandov. Histor. del Emper. II. 226.

BOOK VI. comprehend his meaning, as he spake in the
 1536. Spanish tongue, were totally disconcerted, and
 at a loss how they should answer such an unexpected
 invective; when one of them began to vindicate his
 master's conduct, Charles interposed abruptly, and
 would not permit him to proceed. The Pope, without
 entering into any particular detail, satisfied himself
 with a short but pathetick recommendation of peace,
 together with an offer of employing his sincere endeavours
 in order to procure that blessing to Christendom;
 and the assembly broke up in the greatest astonishment
 at the extraordinary scene which had been exhibited.
 In no part of his conduct, indeed, did Charles ever deviate so
 widely from his general character. Instead of that
 prudent recollection, that composed and regular
 deportment so strictly attentive to decorum, and so
 admirably adapted to conceal his own passions, for
 which he was at all other times conspicuous, he
 appears on this occasion before the most august
 assembly in Europe, boasting of his own power and
 exploits with insolence; inveighing against his enemy
 with indecency; and challenging him to combat with
 an ostentatious valour, more becoming a champion in
 romance, than the first Monarch in Christendom.
 But the well-known and powerful operation of continued
 prosperity, as well as of exaggerated praise, even upon
 the firmest minds,

The motives
 of this rash
 measure.

sufficiently account for this seeming inconsistency. BOOK VI.

After having compelled Solyman to retreat, and 1536.
 having stripped Barbarossa of a kingdom, Charles
 began to consider his arms as invincible. He had
 been entertained, ever since his return from
 Africa, with repeated scenes of triumphs and
 publick rejoicings; the orators and poets of Italy,
 the most elegant at that time in Europe, had
 exhausted their genius in panegyrick, to which
 the astrologers added magnificent promises of a
 more splendid fortune still in store. Intoxicated
 with all these, he forgot his usual reserve and
 moderation, and was unable to restrain this
 extravagant folly of vanity, which became the
 more remarkable, by being both so uncommon
 and so publick.

HE himself seems to have been immediately
 sensible of the impropriety of his behaviour, and
 when the French ambassadors demanded next
 day a more clear explanation of what he had
 said concerning the combat, he told them that
 they were not to consider his proposal as a
 formal challenge to their master, but as an expe-
 dient for preventing bloodshed; he endeavoured
 to soften other expressions in his discourse; and
 spoke in terms full of respect towards Francis.
 But though this slight apology was far from
 being sufficient to remove the offence which had
 been given, Francis, by an unaccountable in-

BOOK VI. fatuation, continued to negotiate, as if it had
 1536. still been possible to bring their differences to a period by an amicable composition. Charles, finding him so eager to run into the snare, favoured the deception, and by seeming to listen to his proposals gained time to prepare for the execution of his own designs.

Charles
 invades
 France.

May 6.

AT last, the Imperial army assembled on the frontiers of the Milanese, to the amount of forty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, while that of France encamped near Vercelli in Piedmont, being greatly inferior in number, and weakened by the departure of a body of Swiss, whom Charles artfully persuaded the Popish cantons to recal, that they might not serve against the Duke of Savoy, their ancient ally. The French general, not daring to risque a battle, retired as soon as the Imperialists advanced. The Emperor put himself at the head of his forces, which the Marquis del Gualto, the Duke of Alva, and Ferdinand de Gonzaga commanded under him, though the supreme direction of the whole was committed to Antonio de Leyva, whose abilities and experience justly entitled him to that distinction. Charles soon discovered his intention not to confine his operations to the recovery of Piedmont and Savoy,

’ Mém. de Bellay, 205, &c.

but to push forward and invade the southern provinces of France. This scheme he had long meditated, and had long been taking measures for executing it with such vigour as might ensure success. He had remitted large sums to his sister, the governess of the Low Countries, and to his brother, the King of the Romans, instructing them to levy all the forces in their power, in order to form two separate bodies, the one to enter France on the side of Picardy, the other on the side of Champagne; while he, with the main army, fell upon the opposite frontier of the kingdom. Trusting to these vast preparations, he thought it impossible that Francis could resist so many unexpected attacks, on such different quarters; and began his enterprize with such confidence of its happy issue, that he desired Jovius the historian, to make a large provision of paper sufficient to record the victories which he was going to acquire. Book VI.
1536.

His ministers and generals, instead of entertaining the same sanguine hopes, represented to him in the strongest terms the danger of leading his troops so far from his own territories, to such a distance from his magazines, and into provinces which did not yield sufficient subsistence for their own inhabitants. They entreated him to consider the inexhaustible resources of France in maintaining a defensive war, and the active

BOOK VI. zeal with which a gallant nobility would serve a
1536. Prince whom they loved, in repelling the ene-

mies of their country; they recalled to his remembrance the fatal miscarriage of Bourbon and Pescara, when they ventured upon the same enterprize under circumstances which seemed as certainly to promise success; the Marquis del Guaſto in particular, fell on his knees, and conjured him to abandon the undertaking as desperate. But many circumstances combined in leading Charles to disregard all their remonstrances. He could seldom be brought, on any occasion, to depart from a resolution which he had once taken; he was too apt to under-rate and despise the talents of his rival the King of France, because they differed so widely from his own; he was blinded by the presumption which accompanies prosperity; and relied, perhaps, in some degree on the prophecies which predicted the increase of his own grandeur. He not only adhered obstinately to his own plan, but determined to advance towards France without waiting for the reduction of any part of Piedmont, except such towns as were absolutely necessary for preserving his communication with the Milanese.

Recovers
part of the
Duke of
Savoy's do-
minions.

THE Marquis de Saluces, to whom Francis had entrusted the command of a small body of troops left for the defence of Piedmont, rendered

this more easy than Charles had any reason to expect. That nobleman, educated in the court of France, distinguished by continual marks of the King's favour, and honoured so lately with a charge of such importance, suddenly, and without any provocation or pretext of disgust, revolted from his benefactor. His motives to this treacherous action, were as childish as the deed itself was base. Being strongly possessed with a superstitious faith in divination and astrology, he believed with full assurance, that the fatal period of the French nation was at hand; that on its ruins the Emperor would establish an universal monarchy; that therefore he ought to follow the dictates of prudence, in attaching himself to his rising fortune, and could incur no blame for deserting a Prince whom heaven had devoted to destruction¹⁰. His reason became still more odious, by his employing that very authority with which Francis had invested him, in order to open the kingdom to his enemies. Whatever was proposed or undertaken by the officers under his command for the defence of their conquests, he rejected or defeated. Whatever properly belonged to himself as commander in chief, to provide or perform for that purpose, he totally neglected. In this manner, he rendered towns even of the greatest consequence

¹⁰ Bellay, 222, a. 246, b.

BOOK VI. untenable, by leaving them destitute either of
 1536. provisions, or ammunition, or artillery, or a
 sufficient garrison; and the Imperialists must
 have reduced Piedmont in as short a time as
 was necessary to march through it, if Montpezat,
 the governor of Fossano, had not, by an extra-
 ordinary effort of courage and military conduct,
 detained them almost a month, before that in-
 considerable place.

Francis's
 plan for the
 defence of
 his king-
 dom.

By this meritorious and seasonable service, he
 gained his master sufficient time for assembling
 his forces, and for concerting a system of de-
 fence against a danger which he now saw to be
 inevitable. Francis fixed upon the only proper
 and effectual plan for defeating the invasion of a
 powerful enemy; and his prudence in chusing
 this plan, as well as his perseverance in execut-
 ing it, deserve the greater praise, as it was
 equally contrary to his own natural temper, and
 to the genius of the French nation. He deter-
 mined to remain altogether upon the defensive;
 never to hazard a battle, or even a great skir-
 mish, without certainty of success; to fortify his
 camps in a regular manner; to throw garrisons
 only into towns of great strength; to deprive
 the enemy of subsistence, by laying waste the
 country before them; and to save the whole
 kingdom, by sacrificing one of its provinces.
 The execution of this plan he committed en-

tirely to the marechal Montmorency, who was Book IV.
 the author of it; a man wonderfully fitted by 1536.
 nature for such a trust. Haughty, severe, con- Entrusts
 fident in his own abilities, and despising those of Montmo-
 other men; incapable of being diverted from rency with
 any resolution by remonstrances or entreaties; the execu-
 and in prosecuting any scheme, regardless alike tion of it,
 of love and of pity.

MONTMORENCY made choice of a strong He encamps
 camp under the walls of Avignon, at the con- at Avignon.
 fluence of the Rhone and Durance, one of
 which plentifully supplied his troops with all
 necessaries from the inland provinces, and the
 other covered his camp on that side, where it
 was most probable the enemy would approach.
 He laboured with unwearied industry to render
 the fortifications of this camp impregnable, and
 assembled there a considerable army, though
 greatly inferior to that of the enemy; while the
 King with another body of troops encamped at
 Valence, higher up the Rhone. Marseilles and
 Arles were the only towns he thought it neces-
 sary to defend; the former, in order to retain
 the command of the sea; the latter, as the bar-
 rier of the province of Languedoc; and each of
 these he furnished with numerous garrisons of
 his best troops, commanded by officers, on
 whose fidelity and valour he could rely. The
 inhabitants of the other towns as well as of the

BOOK VI. open country, were compelled to abandon their
 1536. houses, and were conducted to the mountains,
 to the camp at Avignon, or to the inland pro-
 vinces. The fortifications of such places as might
 have afforded shelter or defence to the enemy,
 were thrown down. Corn, forage, and provi-
 sions of every kind, were carried away or de-
 stroyed; all the mills and ovens were ruined,
 and the wells filled up or rendered useless. The
 devastation extended from the Alps to Mar-
 seilles, and from the sea to the confines of
 Dauphiné; nor does history afford any instance
 among civilized nations, in which this cruel
 expedient for the publick safety was employed
 with the same rigour.

Charles en-
 ters Pro-
 vence.

MEANWHILE, the Emperor arrived with the
 van of his army on the frontiers of Provence,
 and was still so possessed with confidence of suc-
 cess, that during a few days, when he was
 obliged to halt until the rest of his troops came
 up, he began to divide his future conquests
 among his officers; and as a new incitement to
 serve him with zeal, gave them liberal promises
 of offices, lands, and honours in France¹¹. The
 face of desolation, however, which presented
 itself to him, when he entered the country, be-
 gan to damp his hopes; and convinced him that

¹¹ Bellay, 266, a.

a Monarch, who, in order to distress an enemy, Book VI.
 had voluntarily ruined one of his richest pro- 1536.
 vinces, would defend the rest with obstinate de-
 spair. Nor was it long before he became sensible,
 that Francis's plan of defence was as prudent as
 it appeared to be extraordinary. His fleet, on
 which Charles chiefly depended for subsistence,
 was prevented for some time by contrary winds,
 and other accidents to which naval operations
 are subject, from approaching the French coast;
 even after its arrival, it afforded at best a pre-
 carious and scanty supply to such a numerous
 body of troops¹²; nothing was to be found in
 the country itself for their support; nor could
 they draw any considerable aid from the domi-
 nions of the Duke of Savoy, exhausted already
 by maintaining two great armies. The Empe-
 ror was no less embarrassed how to employ, than
 how to subsist his forces; for, though he was
 now in possession of almost an entire province,
 he could not be said to have the command of it,
 while he held only defenceless towns; and while
 the French, besides their camp at Avignon,
 continued masters of Marseilles and Arles. At
 first he thought of attacking the camp, and of
 terminating the war by one decisive blow; but
 skilful officers, who were appointed to view it,
 declared the attempt to be utterly impracticable.

¹² Sandov. ii. 231.

BOOK VI. He then gave orders to invest Marfeilles and
 1536. Arles, hoping that the French would quit their
 Besieges advantageous post in order to relieve them:
 Marfeilles. but Montmorency adhering firmly to his plan,
 remained immoveable at Avignon, and the Imperialists met with such a warm reception from the garrisons of both towns, that they relinquished their enterprizes with loss and disgrace. As a last effort, the Emperor advanced once more towards Avignon, though with an army harassed by the perpetual incursions of small parties of the French light troops, weakened by diseases, and dispirited by disasters, which seemed more intolerable, because they were unexpected.

Montmo- DURING these operations Montmorency found
 rency's for- himself exposed to greater danger from his own
 titude in troops than from the enemy; and their inconfi-
 adhering to derate valour went near to have precipitated the
 his plan of kingdom into those calamities, which he with
 defence. such industry and caution had endeavoured to
 avoid. Unaccustomed to behold an enemy ra-
 vaging their country almost without controul;
 impatient of such long inaction; unacquainted
 with the slow and remote, but certain effects of
 Montmorency's system of defence; the French
 wished for a battle with no less ardour than the
 Imperialists. They considered the conduct of
 their general as a disgrace to their country. His
 caution they imputed to timidity; his circum-

spection to want of spirit ; and the constancy with which he pursued his plan, to obstinacy or pride. These reflections, whispered at first among the soldiers and subalterns, were adopted, by degrees, by officers of higher rank ; and as many of them envied Montmorency's favour with the King, and more were dissatisfied with his harsh disgusting manner, the discontent soon became great in his camp, which was filled with general murmurings and almost open complaints against his measures. Montmorency, on whom the sentiments of his own troops made as little impression as the insults of the enemy, adhered steadily to his system, though, in order to reconcile the army to his maxims, no less contrary to the genius of the nation, than to the ideas of war among undisciplined troops, he assumed an unusual affability in his deportment, and often explained with great condescension the motives of his conduct, the advantages which had already resulted from it, and the certain success with which it would be attended. At last Francis joined his army at Avignon, which having received several reinforcements, he now considered as of strength sufficient to face the enemy. As he had put no small constraint upon himself, in consenting that his troops should remain so long upon the defensive, it can hardly be doubted but that his fondness for what was daring and splendid, added to the impatience both

BOOK VI. of officers and soldiers, would at last have over-
 1536. ruled Montmorency's salutary caution¹³.

The retreat
 and wretch-
 ed condition
 of the Im-
 perial army.

HAPPILY the retreat of the enemy delivered the kingdom from the danger which any rash resolution might have occasioned. The Emperor, after spending two inglorious months in Provence, without having performed any thing suitable to his vast preparations, or that could justify the confidence with which he had boasted of his own power, found that, besides Antonio de Leyva, and other officers of distinction, he had lost one half of his troops by diseases, or by famine; and that the rest were in no condition to struggle any longer with calamities, by which so many of their companions had perished. Necessity, therefore extorted from him orders to retire; and though he was some time in motion before the French suspected his intention, a body of light troops, assisted by crowds of peasants, eager to be revenged on those who had brought such desolation on their country, hung upon the rear of the Imperialists, and by seizing every favourable opportunity of attacking them, threw them often into confusion. The road by which they fled, for they pursued their march with such disorder and precipitation, that it scarcely deserves the name of a retreat, was strewed with arms or baggage, which in their

¹³ Mém. de Bellay, 269, &c. 312, &c.

hurry and trepidation they had abandoned, and covered with the sick, the wounded, and the dead; infomuch that Martin Bellay, an eye-witness of their calamities, endeavours to give his readers some idea of it, by comparing their miseries to those which the Jews suffered from the victorious and destructive arms of the Romans¹⁴. If Montmorency at this critical moment had advanced with all his forces, nothing could have saved the whole Imperial army from utter ruin. But that general, by standing so long and so obstinately on the defensive, had become cautious to excess; his mind tenacious of any bent it had once taken, could not assume a contrary one as suddenly as the change of circumstances required; and he still continued to repeat his favourite maxims, that it was more prudent to allow the lion to escape, than to drive him to despair; and that a bridge of gold should be made for a retreating enemy. Book VI.
1536.

THE Emperor having conducted the shattered remains of his troops to the frontiers of Milan, and appointed the marquis del Guasto to succeed Leyva in the government of the dutchy, set out for Genoa. As he could not bear to expose himself to the scorn of the Italians, after such a sad reverse of fortune; and did not choose,

¹⁴ Mém. de Bellay, 316. Sandov. Hist. del Emper. ii. 232.

BOOK VI. under his present circumstances, to revisit those
 1536. cities through which he had so lately passed in
 triumph for one conquest, and in certain expect-
 ation of another; he embarked directly for
 November. Spain ¹⁵,

Operations in Picardy. NOR was the progress of his arms on the op-
 posite frontier of France such as to alleviate in
 any degree the losses which he had sustained in
 Provence. Bellay by his address and intrigues
 had prevailed on so many of the German Princes
 to withdraw the contingent of troops which they
 had furnished to the King of the Romans, that
 he was obliged to lay aside all thoughts of his
 intended irruption into Champagne. Though
 a powerful army levied in the Low Countries
 entered Picardy, which they found but feebly
 guarded, while the strength of the kingdom was
 drawn towards the south; yet the nobility tak-
 ing arms with their usual alacrity, supplied by
 their spirit the defects of the King's preparations,
 and defended Peronne, and other towns which
 were attacked, with such vigour, as obliged the
 enemy to retire without making any conquest of
 importance ¹⁶.

THUS Francis, by the prudence of his own
 measures, and by the union and valour of his

¹⁵ Jovii Histor. lib. xxxv. p. 174, &c.

¹⁶ Mém. de Bellay, 318, &c.

subjects, rendered abortive those vast efforts in- Book VI.
 which his rival had almost exhausted his whole 1536.
 force. As this humbled the Emperor's arrogance
 no less than it checked his power, he was mor-
 tified more sensibly on this occasion than on any
 other, during the course of the long contests be-
 tween him and the French Monarch.

ONE circumstance alone embittered the joy ^{Death of the}
 with which the success of the campaign inspired ^{Dauphin.}
 Francis. That was the death of the Dauphin,
 his eldest son, a Prince of great hopes, and ex-
 tremely beloved by the people on account of his
 resemblance to his father. This happening sud-
 denly, was imputed to poison, not only by the
 vulgar, fond of ascribing the death of illustrious
 personages to extraordinary causes, but by the
 King and his ministers. The count de Monte-^{Imputed to}
 cuculi, an Italian nobleman, cup-bearer to the ^{poison.}
 Dauphin, being seized on suspicion and put to
 the torture, openly charged the Imperial gene-
 rals, Gonzaga and Leyva, with having insti-
 gated him to the commission of that crime: he
 even threw out some indirect and obscure accusa-
 tions against the Emperor himself. At a time
 when all France was animated with implacable
 hatred against Charles, this uncertain and extorted
 charge was considered as an incontestible proof
 of guilt; while the confidence with which both
 he and his officers asserted their own innocence,

BOOK VI. together with the indignation as well as horror
 1536. which they expressed on their being supposed
 capable of such a detestable action, were little
 attended to, and less regarded¹⁷. It is evident,
 however, that the Emperor could have no in-
 ducement to perpetrate such a crime, as Francis
 was still in the vigour of life himself, and had
 two sons, beside the Dauphin, grown up to a
 good age. That single consideration, without
 mentioning the Emperor's general character,
 unblemished by the imputation of any deed re-
 sembling this in atrocity, is more than suf-
 ficient to counterbalance the weight of a dubious
 testimony uttered during the anguish of torture¹⁸.
 According to the most unprejudiced historians,
 the Dauphin's death was occasioned by his hav-
 ing drunk too freely of cold water after over-
 heating himself at tennis; and this account, as
 it is the most simple, is likewise the most cre-
 dible. But if his days were cut short by poison,
 it is not improbable that the Emperor con-
 jectured rightly, when he affirmed that it had
 been administered by the direction of Catharine
 of Medici, in order to secure the crown to the
 Duke of Orleans, her husband¹⁹. The advan-
 tages resulting to her by the Dauphin's death,
 were obvious as well as great; nor did her

¹⁷ Mém. de Bellay, 289.

¹⁸ Sandov. Hist. del Emper. ii. 231.

¹⁹ Vera y Zuniga Vida de Carlos V. p. 75.

boundless and daring ambition ever scruple at any action necessary towards attaining the objects which she had in view. Book VI.
1536.

NEXT year opened with a transaction very uncommon, but so incapable of producing any effect, that it would not deserve to be mentioned, if it were not a striking proof of the personal animosity which mingled itself in all the hostilities between Charles and Francis, and which often betrayed them into such indecencies towards each other, as lessened the dignity of both. Francis, accompanied by the peers and princes of the blood, having taken his seat in the parliament of Paris with the usual solemnities, the advocate-general appeared; and after accusing Charles of Austria (for so he affected to call the Emperor), of having violated the treaty of Cambray, by which he was absolved from the homage due to the crown of France for the counties of Artois and Flanders, insisted that this treaty being now void, he was still to be considered as a vassal of the crown, and by consequence, had been guilty of rebellion in taking arms against his sovereign; and therefore he demanded that Charles should be summoned to appear in person, or by his counsel, before the parliament of Paris, his legal judges, to answer for his crime. The request was granted; a herald repaired to the frontiers of Picardy, and

1537.
Decree of
the parlia-
ment of
Paris against
the Empe-
ror.

BOOK VI. summoned him with the accustomed formalities,
 1537. to appear against a day prefixed. That term being expired, and no person appearing in his name, the parliament gave judgment, "That Charles of Austria had forfeited by rebellion and contumacy those fiefs; declared Flanders and Artois to be re-united to the crown of France;" and ordered their decree for this purpose to be published by sound of trumpet on the frontiers of these provinces²⁰.

Campaign
 opens in-
 the Low-
 Countries.
 March.

SOON after this vain display of his resentment, rather than of his power, Francis marched towards the Low Countries, as if he had intended to execute the sentence which his parliament had pronounced, and to seize those territories which it had awarded to him. As the Queen of Hungary, to whom her brother the Emperor had committed the government of that part of his dominions, was not prepared for so early a campaign, he at first made some progress, and took several towns of importance. But being obliged soon to leave his army, in order to superintend the other operations of war, the Flemings having assembled a numerous army, not only recovered most of the places which they had lost, but began to make conquests in their turn. At

²⁰ Lettres et Mémoires d'Etat, par Ribier, 2 tom. Blois. 1666. tom. i. p. 1.

last they invested Terouenne, and the Duke of Orleans, now Dauphin, by the death of his brother, and Montmorency, whom Francis had honoured with the constable's sword, as the reward of his great services during the former campaign, determined to hazard a battle in order to relieve it. While they were advancing for this purpose, and within a few miles of the enemy, they were stopt short by the arrival of an herald from the Queen of Hungary, acquainting him that a suspension of arms was now agreed upon.

Book VI.
1537.
A suspension of arms there;

THIS unexpected event was owing to the zealous endeavours of the two sisters, the Queens of France and of Hungary, who had long laboured to reconcile the contending Monarchs. The war in the Netherlands had laid waste the frontier provinces of both countries, without any real advantage to either. The French and Flemings equally regretted the interruption of their commerce, which was beneficial to both. Charles as well as Francis, who had each strained to the utmost, in order to support the vast operations of the former campaign, found that they could not now keep armies on foot in this quarter, without weakening their operations in Piedmont, where both wished to push the war with the greatest vigour. All these circumstances facilitated the negotiations of the two Queens; a

July 30.

BOOK VI. truce was concluded, to continue in force for
1537. ten months, but it extended no farther than the
Low Countries²¹.

and in
Piedmont.

IN Piedmont the war was still prosecuted with great animosity; and though neither Charles nor Francis could make the powerful efforts to which this animosity prompted them, they continued to exert themselves like combatants, whose rancour remains after their strength is exhausted. Towns were alternately lost and retaken; skirmishes were fought every day; and much blood was shed, without any decisive action, that gave the superiority to either side. At last the two Queens, determining not to leave unfinished the good work which they had begun, prevailed, by their importunate solicitations, the one on her brother, the other on her husband, to consent also to a truce in Piedmont for three months. The conditions of it were, that each should keep possession of what was in his hands, and after leaving garrisons in the towns, should withdraw his army out of the province; and that plenipotentiaries should be appointed to adjust all matters in dispute by a final treaty²².

Motives of
it.

THE powerful motives which inclined both Princes to this accommodation, have been often mentioned. The expences of the war had far

²¹ Mémoires de Ribier, 56. ²² Ibid. 62.

exceeded the sums which their revenues were capable of supplying, nor durst they venture upon any great addition to the impositions then established, as subjects were not yet taught to bear with patience the immense burdens to which they have become accustomed in modern times. The Emperor, in particular, though he had contracted debts which in that age appeared prodigious²³, had it not in his power to pay the large arrears long due to his army. At the same time he had no prospect of deriving any aid in money or men either from the Pope or Venetians, though he had employed promises and threats, alternately, in order to procure it. But he found the former not only fixed in his resolution of adhering steadily to the neutrality which he had always declared to be suitable to his character, but passionately desirous of bringing about a peace. He perceived that the latter were still intent on their ancient object of holding the balance even between the rivals, and solicitous not to throw too great a weight into either scale.

WHAT made a deeper impression on Charles than all these, was the dread of the Turkish arms, which by his league with Solyman, Francis had drawn upon him. Though Francis,

Of which, Francis's alliance with the Turkish Emperor the

²³ Ribier, i. 294.

BOOK VI. without the assistance of a single ally, had a war
1537. to maintain against an enemy greatly superior
most con- in power to himself, yet so great was the horror
siderable. of Christians, in that age, at any union with
Infidels, which they considered not only as dishonourable but profane, that it was long before he could be brought to avail himself of the obvious advantages resulting from such a confederacy. Necessity at last surmounted his delicacy and scruples. Towards the close of the preceding year, La Forest, a secret agent at the Ottoman Porte, had concluded a treaty with the Sultan, whereby Solyman engaged to invade the kingdom of Naples, during the next campaign, and to attack the King of the Romans in Hungary with a powerful army; while Francis undertook to enter the Milanese at the same time with a proper force. Solyman had punctually performed what was incumbent on him. Barbarossa with a great fleet appeared on the coast of Naples, filled that kingdom, from which all the troops had been drawn towards Piedmont, with consternation, landed without resistance near Taranto, obliged Castro, a place of some strength, to surrender, plundered the adjacent country, and was taking measures for securing and extending his conquests, when the unexpected arrival of Doria, together with the Pope's gallies, and a squadron of the Venetian fleet, made it prudent for him to retire. In Hungary

the progress of the Turks was more formidable. Book VI.
 Mahmet, their general, after gaining several 1537.
 small advantages, defeated the Germans in a
 great battle at Essek on the Drave²⁴. Happily
 for Christendom, it was not in Francis's power
 to execute with equal exactness what he had sti-
 pulated; nor could he assemble at this juncture
 an army strong enough to penetrate into the Mi-
 lanese. By this he failed in recovering possession
 of that dutchy; and Italy was not only saved
 from the calamities of a new war, but from
 feeling the desolating rage of the Turkish arms,
 as an addition to all that it had suffered²⁵. As
 the Emperor knew that he could not long resist
 the efforts of two such powerful confederates,
 nor could expect that the same fortunate acci-
 dents would concur a second time to deliver
 Naples, and to preserve the Milanese: As he
 foresaw that the Italian states would not only
 tax him loudly with insatiable ambition, but
 might even turn their arms against him, if he
 should be so regardless of their danger as obsti-
 nately to protract the war, he thought it neces-
 sary, both for his safety and reputation, to give
 his consent to a truce. Nor was Francis willing
 to sustain all the blame of obstructing the re-
 establishment of peace, or to expose himself on

²⁴ Istuanheffi Hist. Hung. lib. xiii. p. 139.

²⁵ Jovii. Histor. lib. xxxv. p. 183.

BOOK VI.

1537.

that account to the danger of being deserted by the Swiss and other foreigners in his service. He even began to apprehend that his own subjects would serve him coldly, if by contributing to aggrandize the power of the Infidels, which it was his duty, and had been the ambition of his ancestors to depress, he continued to act in direct opposition to all the principles which ought to influence a Monarch distinguished by the title of Most Christian King. He chose, for all these reasons, rather to run the risk of disobliging his new ally the Sultan, than, by an unseasonable adherence to the treaty with him, to forfeit what was of greater consequence.

Negocia-
tions of a
peace be-
tween
Charles and
Francis.

1538.

BUT though both parties consented to a truce, the plenipotentiaries found insuperable difficulties in settling the articles of a definitive treaty. Each of the Monarchs, with the arrogance of a conqueror, aimed at giving law to the other; and neither would so far acknowledge his inferiority, as to sacrifice any point of honour, or to relinquish any matter of right; so that the plenipotentiaries spent the time in long and fruitless negotiations, and separated after agreeing to prolong the truce for a few months.

The Pope
conducts
these in per-
son.

THE Pope, however, did not despair of accomplishing a point in which the plenipotentiaries had failed, and took upon himself the sole bur-
den

den of negotiating a peace. To form a confederacy capable of defending Christendom from the formidable inroads of the Turkish arms, and to concert effectual measures for the extirpation of the Lutheran heresy, were two great objects which Paul had much at heart, and he considered the union of the Emperor with the King of France as an essential preliminary to both. To be the instrument of reconciling these contending Monarchs, whom his predecessors by their interested and indecent intrigues had so often embroiled, was a circumstance which could not fail of throwing distinguishing lustre on his character and administration. Nor was he without hopes that, while he pursued this laudable end, he might secure advantages to his own family, the aggrandizing of which he did not neglect, though he aimed at it with a less audacious ambition than was common among the Popes of that century. Influenced by these considerations, he proposed an interview between the two Monarchs at Nice, and offered to repair thither in person, that he might act as mediator in composing all their differences. When a Pontiff of a venerable character, and of very advanced age, was willing, from his zeal for peace, to undergo the fatigues of such a distant journey, neither Charles nor Francis could with decency decline the interview. But though both came to the place of rendezvous, so great was

BOOK VI. the difficulty of adjusting the ceremonial, or such
 1538. the remains of distrust and rancour on each side, that they refused to see one another, and every thing was transacted by the intervention of the Pope, who visited them alternately. With all his zeal and ingenuity he could not find out a method of removing the obstacles which prevented a final accommodation, particularly those arising from the possession of the Milanese; nor was all the weight of his authority sufficient to overcome the obstinate perseverance of either Monarch in asserting his own claims. At last, that he might not seem to have laboured altogether without effect, he prevailed on them to sign a truce for ten years, upon the same condition with the former, that each should retain what was now in his possession, and in the mean time should send ambassadors to Rome, to discuss their pretensions at leisure ²⁶.

A truce for
 ten years
 concluded
 at Nice.
 June 18.

THUS ended a war of no long continuance, but very extensive in its operations, and in which both parties exerted their utmost strength. Though Francis failed in the object that he had principally in view, the recovery of the Milanese, he acquired nevertheless, great reputation by the wisdom of his measures as well as

²⁶ Recueil des Traitez, ii. 210. Relazione di Nicolo Tiepolo dell' abboccamento di Nizza, chez Du Mont Corps Diplomat. part. ii. p. 174.

the success of his arms in repulsing a formidable invasion; and by securing possession of one half of the Duke of Savoy's dominions, he added no inconsiderable accession to his kingdom. Whereas Charles, repulsed and baffled, after having boasted so arrogantly of victory, purchased an inglorious truce, by sacrificing an ally who had rashly confided too much in his friendship and power. The unfortunate Duke murmured, complained, and remonstrated against a treaty so much to his disadvantage, but in vain; he had no means of redress, and was obliged to submit. Of all his dominions, Nice, with its dependencies, was the only corner of which he himself kept possession. He saw the rest divided between a powerful invader and the ally to whose protection he had trusted, while he remained a sad monument of the imprudence of weak Princes, who by taking part in the quarrel of mighty neighbours, between whom they happen to be situated, are crushed and overwhelmed in the shock.

A FEW days after signing the treaty of truce, the Emperor set sail for Barcelona, but was driven by contrary winds to the island St. Margaret on the coast of Provence. When Francis, who happened to be not far distant, heard of this, he considered it as an office of civility to invite him to take shelter in his dominions, and proposed a personal interview with him at

Book VI.
1538.

Interview
between
Charles and
Francis at
Aigues-
mortes.

BOOK VI. Aigues-mortes. The Emperor, who would not
 1538. be out-done by his rival in complaisance, instantly repaired thither. As soon as he cast anchor in the road, Francis, without waiting to settle any point of ceremony, but relying implicitly on the Emperor's honour for his security, visited him on board his galley, and was received and entertained with the warmest demonstrations of esteem and affection. Next day the Emperor repaid the confidence which the King had placed in him. He landed at Aigues-mortes with as little precaution, and met with a reception equally cordial. He remained on shore during the night, and in both visits they vied with each other in expressions of respect and friendship²⁷. After twenty years of open hostilities, or of secret enmity; after so many injuries reciprocally inflicted or endured; after having formally given the lie and challenged one another to single combat; after the Emperor had inveighed so publicly against Francis as a Prince void of honour or integrity; and Francis had accused him as accessory to the murder of his eldest son, such an interview appears altogether singular and even unnatural. But the history of these Monarchs abounds with such surprising transitions. From

²⁷ Sandov. Hist. vol. ii. 238. Relation de l'entrevue de Charl. V. & Fran. I. par M. de la Rivoire. Hist. de Langued. par D. D. De Vic & Vaisette. tom. v. Preuves. p. 93.

implacable enmity they appeared to pass, in a moment, to the most cordial reconcilment; from suspicion and distrust to perfect confidence; and from practising all the dark arts of a deceitful policy, they could assume, of a sudden, the liberal and open manners of two gallant gentlemen.

THE Pope, besides the glory of having restored peace to Europe, gained, according to his expectation, a point of great consequence to his family, by prevailing on the Emperor to betroth Margaret of Austria, his natural daughter, formerly the wife of Alexander di Medici, to his grandson Octavio Farnese, and in consideration of this marriage, to bestow several honours and territories upon his future son-in-law. A very tragical event, which happened about the beginning of the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven, had deprived Margaret of her first husband. That young Prince, whom the Emperor's partiality had raised to the supreme power in Florence, upon the ruins of the publick liberty, neglected entirely the cares of government, and abandoned himself to the most dissolute debauchery. Lorenzo di Medici his nearest kinsman was not only the companion but director of his pleasures, and employing all the powers of a cultivated and inventive genius in this dishonourable ministry, added such elegance

The assassination of Alexander di Medici.

BOOK VI. as well as variety to vice as gained him an absolute ascendant over the mind of Alexander. But while Lorenzo seemed to be sunk in luxury, and affected such an appearance of indolence and effeminacy, that he would not wear a sword, and trembled at the sight of blood, he concealed under that disguise, a dark, designing, audacious spirit. Prompted either by the love of liberty, or allured by the hope of attaining the supreme power, he determined to assassinate Alexander his benefactor and friend. Though he long revolved this design in his mind, his reserved and suspicious temper prevented him from communicating it to any person whatever; and continuing to live with Alexander in their usual familiarity, he, one night, under pretence of having secured him an assignation with a lady of high rank whom he had often solicited, drew that unwary Prince into a secret apartment of his house, and there stabbed him, while he lay carelessly on a couch expecting the arrival of the lady whose company he had been promised. But no sooner was the deed done, than standing astonished, and struck with horror at its atrocity, he forgot, in a moment, all the motives which had induced him to commit it. Instead of rousing the people to recover their liberty by publishing the death of the tyrant, instead of taking any step towards opening his own way to the dignity now vacant, he locked the door of the

apartment, and, like a man bereaved of reason and presence of mind, fled with the utmost precipitation out of the Florentine territories. It was late next morning before the fate of the unfortunate Prince was known, as his attendants, accustomed to his irregularities, never entered his apartment early. Immediately the chief persons in the state assembled. Being induced partly by the zeal of cardinal Cibo for the house of Medici, to which he was nearly related, partly by the authority of Francis Guicciardini, who recalled to their memory and represented in striking colours the caprice as well as turbulence of their ancient popular government, they agreed to place Cosmo di Medici, a youth of eighteen, the only male heir of that illustrious house, at the head of the government; though at the same time such was their love of liberty, that they established several regulations in order to circumscribe and moderate his power.

Book VI.

1538.

Cosmo di
Medici
placed at the
head of the
Florentine
state.

MEANWHILE Lorenzo having reached a place of safety, made known what he had done, to Philip Strozzi and the other Florentines who had been driven into exile, or who had voluntarily retired, when the republican form of government was abolished, in order to make way for the dominion of the Medici. By them, the deed was extolled with extravagant praises, and the virtue of Lorenzo was compared

His govern-
ment oppos-
ed by the
Florentine
exiles.

BOOK VI. with that of the elder Brutus, who disregarded
 1538. the ties of blood, or with that of the younger, who forgot the friendship and favours of the tyrant, that they might preserve or recover the liberty of their country²⁸. Nor did they rest satisfied with empty panegyrics; they immediately quitted their different places of retreat, assembled forces, animated their vassals and partisans to take arms, and to seize this opportunity of re-establishing the publick liberty on its ancient foundation. Being openly assisted by the French ambassador at Rome, and secretly encouraged by the Pope, who bore no goodwill to the house of Medici, they entered the Florentine dominions with a considerable body of men. But the persons who had elected Cosmo possessed not only the means of supporting his government, but abilities to employ them in the most proper manner. They levied, with the greatest expedition, a good number of troops; they endeavoured by every art to gain the citizens of greatest authority, and to render the administration of the young Prince agreeable to the people. Above all, they courted the Emperor's protection, as the only firm foundation of Cosmo's dignity and power. Charles, knowing the propensity of the Florentines to the friendship of France, and how much all the partisans of a republican government detested

²⁸ Lettere de' Principi, tom. iii. p. 52.

him as the oppressor of their liberties, saw it to be greatly for his interest to prevent the re-establishment of the ancient constitution in Florence. For this reason, he not only acknowledged Cosmo as head of the Florentine state, and conferred on him all the titles of honour with which Alexander had been dignified, but engaged to defend him to the utmost; and as a pledge of this, ordered the commanders of such of his troops as were stationed on the frontiers of Tuscany, to support him against all aggressors. By their aid, Cosmo obtained an easy victory over the exiles, whose troops he surprised in the night-time, and took most of the chiefs prisoners: an event which broke all their measures, and fully established his own authority. But though he was extremely desirous of the additional honour of marrying the Emperor's daughter, the widow of his predecessor, Charles, secure already of his attachment, chose rather to gratify the Pope, by bestowing her on his nephew²⁹.

Book VI.
1538.

DURING the war between the Emperor and Francis, an event had happened which abated in some degree the warmth and cordiality of friendship which had long subsisted between the

The friendship between Francis and Henry VIII. begins to abate.

²⁹ Jovii Hist. c. xcvi. p. 218, &c. Belcarii Comment. l. xxii. p. 696. Istoria de' suoi tempi di Giov. Bat. Adriani. Ven. 1587. p. 10.

BOOK VI. latter and the King of England. James the Fifth
 1538. of Scotland, an enterprizing young Prince, having heard of the Emperor's intention to invade Provence, was so fond of shewing that he did not yield to any of his ancestors in the sincerity of his attachment to the French crown, and so eager to distinguish himself by some military exploit, that he levied a body of troops with an intention of leading them in person to the assistance of the King of France. Though some unfortunate accidents prevented his carrying any troops into France, nothing could divert him from going thither in person. Immediately upon his landing, he hastened to Provence, but had been detained so long in his voyage that he came too late to have any share in the military operations, and met the King on his return after the retreat of the Imperialists. But Francis was so greatly pleased with his zeal, and no less with his manners and conversation, that he could not refuse him his daughter Magdalen, whom he demanded in marriage. It mortified Henry extremely to see a Prince of whom he was immoderately jealous, form an alliance, from which he derived such an accession of reputation as well as security³⁰. He could not, however, with decency, oppose Francis's bestowing his daughter upon a Monarch descended from a race of

Jan. I.
 1537.

³⁰ Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 77.

Princes, the most ancient and faithful allies of the French crown. But when James, upon the sudden death of Magdalen, demanded as his second wife Mary of Guise, he warmly solicited Francis to deny his suit, and in order to disappoint him, asked that lady in marriage for himself. When Francis preferred the Scottish King's sincere courtship to his artful and malevolent proposal, he discovered much dissatisfaction. The pacification agreed upon at Nice, and the familiar interview of the two rivals at Aigues-mortes, filled Henry's mind with new suspicions, as if Francis had altogether renounced his friendship for the sake of new connections with the Emperor. Charles, thoroughly acquainted with the temper of the English King, and watchful to observe all the shiftings and caprices of his passions, thought this a favourable opportunity of renewing his negotiations with him, which had been long broken off. By the death of Queen Catharine, whose interest the Emperor could not with decency have abandoned, the chief cause of their discord was removed; so that without touching upon the delicate question of her divorce, he might now take what measures he thought most effectual for regaining Henry's good-will. For this purpose, he began with proposing several marriage-treaties to the King. He offered his niece, a daughter of the King of Denmark, to Henry himself; he de-

Book VI.
1538.

The Empe-
ror courts
Henry.

BOOK VI. manded the Princess Mary for one of the Princes
 1538. of Portugal, and was even willing to receive her
 as the King's illegitimate daughter³¹. Though
 none of these projected alliances ever took place,
 or perhaps were ever seriously intended, they
 occasioned such frequent intercourse between the
 courts, and so many reciprocal professions of
 civility and esteem, as considerably abated the
 edge of Henry's rancour against the Emperor,
 and paved the way for that union between them
 which afterwards proved so disadvantageous to
 the French King,

Progress of
 the Refor-
 mation.

THE ambitious schemes in which the Empe-
 ror had been engaged, and the wars he had been
 carrying on for some years, proved, as usual, ex-
 tremely favourable to the progress of the Refor-
 mation in Germany. While Charles was absent
 upon his African expedition, or intent on his
 vast projects against France, his chief object in
 Germany was to prevent the dissensions about
 religion from disturbing the publick tranquillity,
 by granting such indulgence to the Protestant
 Princes as might induce them to concur with
 his measures, or at least hinder them from tak-
 ing part with his rival. For this reason, he was
 careful to secure to the Protestants the possession
 of all the advantages which they had gained by
 the articles of pacification at Nuremberg, in the

³¹ Mém. de Ribier, t. i. 496.

year one thousand five hundred and thirty-two³²; and except some slight trouble from the proceedings of the Imperial chamber, they met with nothing to disturb them in the exercise of their religion, or to interrupt the successful zeal with which they propagated their opinions. Meanwhile the Pope continued his negotiations for convoking a general council; and though the Protestants had expressed great dissatisfaction with his intention to fix upon Mantua as the place of meeting, he adhered obstinately to his choice, issued a bull on the second of June, one thousand five hundred and thirty-six, appointing it to assemble in that city on the twenty-third of May the year following; he nominated three cardinals to preside in his name; enjoined all Christian Princes to countenance it by their authority, and invited the prelates of every nation to attend in person. This citation of a council, an assembly which from its nature and intention demanded quiet times, as well as pacifick dispositions, at the very juncture when the Emperor was on his march towards France, and ready to involve a great part of Europe in the confusions of war, appeared to every person extremely unreasonable. It was intimated, however, to all the different courts by nuncios dispatched of

BOOK VI.
1538.

Negociations and intrigues with respect to a general council.

³² Du Mont Corps Diplom. tom. iv. part 2. p. 138.

BOOK VI. purpose³³. With an intention to gratify the
 1538. Germans, the Emperor, during his residence
 in Rome, had warmly solicited the Pope to call
 a council; but being at the same time willing to
 try every art in order to persuade Paul to de-
 part from the neutrality which he preserved be-
 tween him and Francis, he sent Heldo his vice-
 chancellor into Germany, along with a nuncio
 dispatched thither; instructing him to second
 all the nuncio's representations, and to enforce
 them with the whole weight of the Imperial au-
 Feb. 25. 1537. thority. The Protestants gave them audience
 at Smalkalde, where they had assembled in a
 body, in order to receive them. But after
 weighing all their arguments they unanimously
 refused to acknowledge a council summoned in
 the name and by the authority of the Pope
 alone; in which he assumed the sole right of pre-
 siding; which was to be held in a city not only
 far distant from Germany, but subject to a
 Prince, a stranger to them, and closely connect-
 ed with the court of Rome; and to which their
 divines could not repair with safety, especially
 after their doctrines had been stigmatized in the
 very bull of convocation with the name of
 heresy. These and many other objections against
 the council, which appeared to them unanswer-
 able, they enumerated in a large manifesto,

³³ Pallavic. Hist. Conc. Trid. 113.

which they published in vindication of their conduct ³⁴. BOOK VI.
1538.

AGAINST this the court of Rome exclaimed as a flagrant proof of their obstinacy and presumption, and the Pope still persisted in his resolution to hold the council at the time and in the place appointed. But some unexpected difficulties being started by the Duke of Mantua, both about the right of jurisdiction over the persons who resorted to the council, and the security of his capital amidst such a concourse of strangers, the Pope, after fruitless endeavours to adjust these, first prorogued the council for Octob. 8.
1538. some months, and afterwards transferring the place of meeting to Vicenza in the Venetian territories, appointed it to assemble on the first of May in the following year. As neither the Emperor nor French King, who had not then come to any accommodation, would permit their subjects to repair thither, not a single prelate appeared on the day prefixed, and the Pope, that his authority might not become altogether contemptible by so many ineffectual intimations, put off the meeting by an indefinite prorogation ³⁵.

³⁴ Sleidan. l. xii. 123, &c. Seckend. Com. lib. iii. p. 143, &c.

³⁵ F. Paul, 117. Pallavic. 117.

BOOK VI. BUT, that he might not seem to have turned
 1538. his whole attention towards a reformation
 A partial which he was not able to accomplish, while he
 reformation of abuses by neglected that which was in his own power,
 the Pope. he deputed a certain number of cardinals and
 bishops, with full authority to inquire into the
 abuses and corruptions of the Roman court; and
 to propose the most effectual method of remov-
 ing them. The scrutiny, undertaken with re-
 luctance, was carried on slowly and with remiss-
 ness. All defects were touched with a gentle
 hand, afraid of probing too deep, or of discover-
 ing too much. But even by this partial exami-
 nation, many irregularities were detected, and
 many enormities exposed to light, while the re-
 medies which they suggested as most proper,
 were either inadequate, or were never applied.
 The report and resolution of these deputies,
 though intended to be kept secret, were trans-
 mitted by some accident into Germany, and be-
 ing immediately made publick, afforded ample
 matter for reflection and triumph to the Pro-
 testants¹⁶. On the one hand they demonstrated
 the necessity of a reformation in the head as well
 as the members of the church, and even pointed
 out many of the corruptions against which Lu-
 ther and his followers had remonstrated with the
 greatest vehemence. They shewed, on the other

¹⁶ Sleidan, 233.

hand,

hand, that it was vain to expect this reformation from ecclesiasticks themselves, who, as Luther strongly expressed it, piddled at curing warts, while they overlooked or confirmed ulcers³⁷.

BOOK VI.
1539.

THE earnestness with which the Emperor seemed, at first, to press their acquiescing in the Pope's scheme of holding a council in Italy, alarmed the Protestant Princes so much, that they thought it prudent to strengthen their confederacy, by admitting several new members who solicited that privilege, particularly the King of Denmark. Heldo, who, during his residence in Germany, had observed all the advantages which they derived from that union, endeavoured to counterbalance its effects by an alliance among the Catholick powers of the Empire. This league distinguished by the name of *Holy*, was merely defensive; and though concluded by Heldo in the Emperor's name, was afterwards disowned by him, and subscribed by very few Princes³⁸.

A league formed in opposition to that at Smalkalde,

THE Protestants soon got intelligence of this association, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the contracting parties to conceal it; and their zeal, always apt to suspect and to dread,

alarms the Protestants.

³⁷ Seck. l. iii. 164. des Traitez.

³⁸ Seck. l. iii. 171. Recueil

BOOK VI. even to excess, every thing that seemed to
 1539. threaten religion, instantly took the alarm as if
 the Emperor had been just ready to enter upon
 the execution of some formidable plan for the
 extirpation of their opinions. In order to disap-
 point this, they held frequent consultations, they
 courted the Kings of France and England with
 great assiduity, and even began to think of rais-
 ing the respective contingents both in men and
 money which they were obliged to furnish by the
 treaty of Smalkalde. But it was not long be-
 fore they were convinced that these apprehen-
 sions were without foundation, and that the
 Emperor, to whom repose was absolutely neces-
 sary after efforts so much beyond his strength in
 the war with France, had no thoughts of dis-
 turbing the tranquillity of Germany. As a proof
 of this, at an interview with the Protestant
 April 19. Princes in Francfort, his ambassadors agreed that
 all concessions in their favour, particularly those
 contained in the pacification of Nuremberg,
 should continue in force for fifteen months;
 that during this period all proceedings of the
 Imperial chamber against them should be sus-
 pended; that a conference should be held by a
 few divines of each party, in order to discuss the
 points in controversy, and to propose articles of
 accommodation which should be laid before the
 next diet. Though the Emperor, that he might
 not irritate the Pope, who remonstrated against

the first part of this agreement as impolitick, and against the latter as an impious encroachment upon his prerogative, never formally ratified this convention, it was observed with considerable exactness, and greatly strengthened the basis of that ecclesiastical liberty, for which the Protestants contended³⁹.

A FEW days after the convention at Francfort, George Duke of Saxony died, and his death was an event of great advantage to the Reformation. That Prince, the head of the Albertine, or younger branch of the Saxon family, possessed, as marquis of Misnia and Thuringia, extensive territories, comprehending Dresden, Leipstick, and other cities now the most considerable in the electorate. From the first dawn of the Reformation, he had been its enemy as avowedly as the electoral Princes were its protectors, and had carried on his opposition not only with all the zeal flowing from religious prejudices, but with a virulence inspired by personal antipathy to Luther, and embittered by the domestick animosity subsisting between him and the other branch of his family. By his death without issue, his succession fell to his brother Henry, whose attachment to the Protestant religion surpassed, if possible, that of his predecessor to popery. Henry no sooner took

Book VI.
1539.

April 24.
Reformation established in every part of Saxony.

³⁹ F. Paul, 82. Sleid. 247. Seck. 1. iii. 200.

BOOK VI. possession of his new dominions, than, disregarding a clause in George's will, dictated by his bigotry, whereby he bequeathed all his territories to the Emperor and King of the Romans, if his brother should attempt to make any innovation in religion, he invited some Protestant divines, and among them Luther himself, to Leipfick. By their advice and assistance, he overturned in a few weeks the whole system of ancient rites, establishing the full exercise of the reformed religion, with the universal applause of his subjects, who had long wished for this change, which the authority of their Duke alone had hitherto prevented⁴⁰. This revolution delivered the Protestants from the danger to which they were exposed by having an inveterate enemy situated in the middle of their territories; and their dominions now extended in one great and almost unbroken line from the shore of the Baltick to the banks of the Rhine.

A mutiny
of the Imperial troops.

SOON after the conclusion of the truce at Nice, an event happened, which satisfied all Europe that Charles had prosecuted the war to the utmost extremity that the state of his affairs would permit. Vast arrears were due to his troops, whom he had long amused with vain hopes and promises. As they now foresaw what

⁴⁰ Sleidan, 249.

little attention would be paid to their demands, when by the re-establishment of peace their services became of less importance, they lost all patience, broke out into an open mutiny, and declared that they thought themselves entitled to seize by violence what was detained from them contrary to all justice. Nor was this spirit of sedition confined to one part of the Emperor's dominions; the mutiny was almost as general as the grievance which gave rise to it. The soldiers in the Milanese plundered the open country without controul, and filled the capital itself with consternation. Those in garrison at Goletta threatened to give up that important fortress to Barbarossa. In Sicily the troops proceeded to still greater excesses; having chased away their officers, they elected others in their stead, defeated a body of men whom the viceroy sent against them, took and pillaged several cities, conducting themselves all the while, in such a manner, that their operations resembled rather the regular proceedings of a concerted rebellion, than the rashness and violence of a military mutiny. But by the address and prudence of the generals, who partly by borrowing money in their own name, or in that of their master, partly by extorting large sums from the cities in their respective provinces, raised what was sufficient to discharge the arrears of the soldiers,

BOOK VI. these insurrections were quelled. The greater
 1539. part of the troops being disbanded, such a number only being kept in pay as was necessary for garrisoning the principal towns, and protecting the sea-coasts from the insults of the Turks⁴¹.

Cortes of
 Castile held
 at Toledo.

It was happy for the Emperor that the abilities of his generals extricated him out of these difficulties, which it exceeded his own power to have removed. He had depended, as his chief resource for discharging the arrears due to his soldiers, upon the subsidies which he expected from his Castilian subjects. For this purpose, he assembled the Cortes of Castile at Toledo, and having represented to them the great expence of his military operations, together with the vast debts in which these had necessarily involved him, he proposed to levy such supplies as the present exigency of his affairs demanded, by a general excise on commodities. But the Spaniards already felt themselves oppressed with a load of taxes unknown to their ancestors. They had often complained that their country was drained not only of its wealth but of its inhabitants, in order to prosecute quarrels in which it was not interested, and to fight battles from which it could reap no benefit, and they determined not to add voluntarily to their

The complaints and dissatisfaction of that assembly.

⁴¹ Jovii Histor. l. xxxvii. 203, Sandov. Ferreras, ix. 209.

own burdens, or to furnish the Emperor with the means of engaging in new enterprizes no less ruinous to the kingdom than most of those which he had hitherto carried on. The nobles, in particular, inveighed with great vehemence against the imposition proposed, as an encroachment upon the valuable and distinguished privilege of their order, that of being exempted from the payment of any tax. They demanded a conference with the representatives of the cities concerning the state of the nation. They contended that if Charles would imitate the example of his predecessors, who had resided constantly in Spain, and would avoid entangling himself in a multiplicity of transactions foreign to the concerns of his Spanish dominions, the stated revenues of the crown would be fully sufficient to defray the necessary expences of government. They represented to him, that it would be unjust to lay new burdens upon the people, while this prudent and effectual method of re-establishing publick credit, and securing national opulence, was totally neglected⁴². Charles, after employing arguments, entreaties, and promises, but without success, in order to overcome their obstinacy, dismissed the assembly with great indignation. From that period neither the nobles nor the prelates have been called to these assemblies,

Book VI.
1539.The ancient
constitution
of the Cortes
subverted.⁴² Sandoz. Hist. vol. ii. 269.

BOOK VI. on pretence that such as pay no part of the public taxes, should not claim any vote in laying them on. None have been admitted to the Cortes but the procurators or representatives of eighteen cities. These, to the number of thirty six, being two from each community, form an assembly which bears no resemblance either in power or dignity or independence to the ancient Cortes, and are absolutely at the devotion of the court in all their determinations⁴³. Thus the imprudent zeal with which the Castilian nobles had supported the regal prerogative, in opposition to the claims of the commons during the commotions in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-one, proved at last fatal to their own body. By enabling Charles to depress one of the orders in the state, they destroyed that balance to which the constitution owed its security, and put it in his power, or in that of his successors, to humble the other, and to strip it of its most valuable privileges.

The Spanish
grandees
still possessed
high privileges.

AT that time, however, the Spanish grandees still possessed extraordinary power as well as privileges, which they exercised and defended with an haughtiness peculiar to themselves. Of this the Emperor himself had a mortifying proof during the meeting of the Cortes at Toledo. As

⁴³ Sandov. *ibid.* La Science du Gouvernement, par M. de Real, tom. ii. p. 102.

he was returning one day from a tournament accompanied by most of the nobility, one of the serjeants of the court, out of officious zeal to clear the way for the Emperor, struck the Duke of Infantado's horse with his batton, which that haughty grandee resenting, drew his sword, beat and wounded the officer. Charles, provoked at such an insolent deed in his presence, immediately ordered Ronquillo the judge of the court to arrest the Duke; Ronquillo advanced to execute his charge, when the constable of Castile interposing, checked him, claimed the right of jurisdiction over a grandee as a privilege of his office, and conducted Infantado to his own apartment. All the nobles present were so pleased with the boldness of the constable in asserting the rights of their order, that deserting the Emperor, they attended him to his house with infinite applauses, and Charles returned to the palace without any person along with him but the cardinal Tavera. The Emperor, however sensible of the affront, saw the danger of irritating a jealous and high-spirited order of men, whom the slightest appearance of offence might drive to the most unwarrantable extremes. For that reason, instead of straining at any ill-timed exertion of his prerogative, he prudently connived at the arrogance of a body too potent for him to controul, and sent next morning to the Duke of Infantado, offering to inflict what

BOOK VI. punishment he pleased on the person who had
 1539. affronted him. The Duke considering this as a full reparation to his honour, instantly forgave the officer; bestowing on him, besides, a considerable present as a compensation for his wound. Thus the affair was entirely forgotten⁴⁴; nor would it have deserved to be mentioned, if it were not a striking example of the haughty and independent spirit of the Spanish nobles in that age, as well as an instance of the Emperor's dexterity in accommodating his conduct to the circumstances in which he was placed.

Insurrection
 at Ghent.

CHARLES was far from discovering any such condescension or lenity towards the citizens of Ghent, who not long after broke out into open rebellion against his government. An event which happened in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-six, gave occasion to this rash insurrection so fatal to that flourishing city. At that time the Queen dowager of Hungary, governess of the Netherlands, having received orders from her brother to invade France with all the forces which she could raise, she assembled the States of the United Provinces, and obtained from them a subsidy of twelve hundred thousand florins to defray the expence of that undertaking. Of this sum, the county of Flanders was obliged to pay a third part as its

⁴⁴ Sandov. ii. 274. Ferreras, ix. 212. Miniana, 113.

porportion. But the citizens of Ghent, the most considerable city in that country, averse to a war with France, with which they carried on an extensive and gainful commerce, refused to pay their quota, and contended, that in consequence of stipulations between them and the ancestors of their present sovereign the Emperor, no tax could be levied upon them, unless they had given their exprefs consent to the imposition of it. The governess, on the other hand, maintained, that as the subsidy of twelve hundred thousand florins had been granted by the States of Flanders, of which their representatives were members, they were bound, of course, to conform to what was enacted by them, as it is the first principle in society, on which the tranquillity and order of government depend, that the inclinations of the minority must be over-ruled by the judgment and decision of the superior number.

BOOK VI.

1539.

Pretensions
of the citi-
zens.

THE citizens of Ghent, however, were not willing to relinquish a privilege of such high importance as that which they claimed. Having been accustomed, under the government of the house of Burgundy, to enjoy extensive immunities, and to be treated with much indulgence, they disdained to sacrifice to the delegated power of a regent, those rights and liberties which they had often and successfully asserted against their

Proceedings
against
them.

BOOK VI. greatest Princes. The Queen, though she endeavoured at first to soothe them, and to reconcile them to their duty by various concessions, was at last so much irritated by the obstinacy with which they adhered to their claim, that she ordered all the citizens of Ghent, on whom she could lay hold in any part of the Netherlands, to be arrested. But this rash action made an impression very different from what she expected, on men, whose minds were agitated with all the violent passions which indignation at oppression and zeal for liberty inspire. Less affected with the danger of their friends and companions, than irritated at the governess, they openly despised her authority, and sent deputies to the other towns of Flanders, conjuring them not to abandon their country at such a juncture, but to concur with them in vindicating its rights against the encroachments of a woman, who either did not know or did not regard their immunities. All but a few inconsiderable towns declined entering into any confederacy against the governess; they joined, however, in petitioning her to put off the term for payment of the tax so long, that they might have it in their power to send some of their number into Spain, in order to lay their title to exemption before their sovereign. This she granted with some difficulty. But Charles received their commissioners with an haughtiness to which they were not accustomed

from their ancient Princes, and enjoining them to yield the same respectful obedience to his sister, which they owed to him in person, remitted the examination of their claim to the council of Malines. This court, which is properly a standing committee of the parliament or states of the country, and which possesses the supreme jurisdiction in all matters civil as well as criminal²⁵, pronounced the claim of the citizens of Ghent to be ill-founded, and appointed them forthwith to pay their proportion of the tax.

Book VI.
1539.

ENRAGED at this decision, which they considered as notoriously unjust, and rendered desperate on seeing their rights betrayed by that very court which was bound to protect them, the people of Ghent ran to arms in a tumultuary manner; drove such of the nobility as resided among them out of the city; secured several of the Emperor's officers; put one of them to the torture, whom they accused of having stolen or destroyed the record, that contained the privileges of exemption from taxes which they pleaded; chose a council to which they committed the direction of their affairs; gave orders for repairing and adding to their fortifi-

They take arms, and offer to submit to France.

²⁵ Descrizione di tutti i paesi bassi di Lud. Guicciardini. Ant. 1571. fol. p. 53.

BOOK VI. 1539. cations; and openly erected the standard of rebellion against their sovereign⁴⁶. Sensible, however, of their inability to support what their zeal had prompted them to undertake, and desirous of securing a protector against the formidable forces by which they might expect soon to be attacked, they sent some of their number to Francis, offering not only to acknowledge him as their sovereign, and to put him in immediate possession of Ghent, but to assist him with all their forces in recovering those provinces in the Netherlands, which had anciently belonged to the crown of France, and had been so lately reunited to it by the decree of the parliament of Paris. This unexpected proposition coming from persons who had it in their power to have performed instantly one part of what they undertook, and who could contribute so effectually towards the execution of the whole, opened vast as well as alluring prospects to Francis's ambition. The counties of Flanders and Artois were of greater value than the dutchy of Milan, which he had so long laboured to acquire with passionate but fruitless desire; their situation with respect to France rendered it more easy to conquer or to defend them; and they might be formed into a separate principality for the Duke

⁴⁶ Mémoires sur la révolte des Gantois en 1539, par Jean d'Hollander, écrits en 1547. A la Haye 1747. P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. xi. p. 262. Sandov. Histor. tom. ii. p. 282.

of Orleans, no less suitable to his dignity than Book VI.
 that which his father aimed at obtaining. To 1539.
 this, the Flemings, who were acquainted with
 the French manners and government, would
 not have been averse; and his own subjects,
 weary of their destructive expeditions into Italy,
 would have turned their arms towards this quar-
 ter with more good-will, and with greater vi-
 gour. Several considerations, nevertheless, pre- Francis de-
 vented Francis from laying hold of this oppor- clines their
 tunity, the most favourable in appearance which offer.
 had ever presented itself, of extending his domi-
 nions or distressing the Emperor. From the
 time of their interview at Aigues-mortes, Charles
 had continued to court the King of France with
 wonderful attention; and often flattered him
 with hopes of gratifying at last his wishes con-
 cerning the Milanese, by granting the investi-
 ture of it either to him or to one of his sons. But
 though these hopes and promises were thrown
 out with no other intention than to detach him
 from his confederacy with the Grand Seignior,
 or to raise suspicions in Solyman's mind by the
 appearance of a cordial and familiar intercourse
 subsisting between the courts of Paris and Ma-
 drid, Francis was weak enough to catch at the
 shadow by which he had been so often deceived,
 and from eagerness to seize it, relinquished what
 must have proved a more substantial acquisition.
 Besides this, the Dauphin jealous to excess of

BOOK VI. his brother, and unwilling that a Prince who
 1539. seemed to be of a restless and enterprizing nature
 should obtain an establishment, which from its
 situation might be considered almost as a do-
 mestick one, made use of Montmorency, who, by
 a singular piece of good fortune, was at the
 same time the favourite of the father and of the
 son, to defeat the application of the Flemings,
 and to divert the King from espousing their cause.
 Montmorency, accordingly, represented in strong
 terms, the reputation and power which Francis
 would acquire by recovering that footing which
 he had formerly in Italy, and that nothing could
 be so efficacious to overcome the Emperor's aver-
 sion to this, as his adhering sacredly to the truce,
 and refusing on this occasion to countenance his
 rebellious subjects. Francis, apt of himself to
 over-rate the value of the Milanese, because he
 estimated it from the length of time as well as
 from the great efforts which he had employed
 in order to re-conquer it, and fond of every
 action which had the appearance of generosity,
 assented without difficulty to sentiments so agree-
 able to his own, rejected the proposition of the
 citizens of Ghent, and dismissed their deputies
 with an harsh answer⁴⁷.

⁴⁷ Mém. de Bellay, p. 263. P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib.
 xi. 263.

NOT satisfied with this, by a farther refine- BOOK VI.
 ment in generosity, he communicated to the 1539.
 Emperor his whole negociation with the male- Communi-
 contents, and all that he knew of their schemes cates their
 and intentions ⁴⁸. This convincing proof of intentions
 Francis's disinterestedness relieved Charles from to the Em-
 the most disquieting apprehensions and opened a peror.
 way to extricate himself out of all his difficulties.
 He had already received full information of all
 the transactions in the Netherlands, and of the
 rage with which the people of Ghent had taken
 arms against his government. He was thoroughly
 acquainted with the genius and qualities of his
 subjects in that country; with their love of li-
 berty; their attachment to their ancient privi-
 leges and customs; as well as the invincible ob-
 stinacy with which their minds, slow but firm
 and persevering, adhered to any measure on
 which they had leisure to fix. He easily saw
 what encouragement and support they might
 have derived from the assistance of France; and
 though now free from any danger on that quar-
 ter, he was still sensible that some immediate as
 well as vigorous interposition was necessary, in
 order to prevent the spirit of disaffection from
 spreading in a country where the number of
 cities, the multitude of people, together with
 the great wealth diffused among them by com-

⁴⁸ Sandov. Hiftor. tom. ii. 284.

BOOK VI.

1539.

Charles's
deliberations
concerning
his journey
to the Ne-
therlands.

merce, rendered it peculiarly formidable, and would supply it with inexhaustible resources.

No expedient, after long deliberation, appeared to him so effectual as his going in person to the Netherlands; and the governess his sister being of the same opinion, warmly solicited him to undertake the journey. There were only two

different routes which he could take; one by land, through Italy and Germany, the other entirely by sea, from some port in Spain to one in the Low Countries. But the former was more te-

dious than suited the present exigency of his affairs; nor could he in consistency with his dignity or even his safety pass through Germany without such a train both of attendants and of troops, as would have added greatly to the time that he must have consumed in his journey; the latter was dangerous at this season, and while he remained uncertain with respect to the friendship of the King of England, was not to be ventured upon, unless under the convoy of a powerful fleet. This perplexing situation, in which he was under a necessity of chusing, and did not know what to chuse, inspired him at last with the

Proposes to
pass through
France.

singular and seemingly extravagant thought of passing through France, as the most expeditious way of reaching the Netherlands. He proposed in his council to demand Francis's permission for that purpose. All his counsellors joined with one voice in condemning the measure as no less

rash than unprecedented, and which must infal- Book VI.
libly expose him to disgrace or to danger; to 1539.
disgrace, if the demand were rejected in the
manner that he had reason to expect; to danger,
if he put his person in the power of an enemy
whom he had often offended, who had ancient
injuries to revenge, as well as subjects of present
contest still remaining undecided. But Charles,
who had studied the character of his rival with
greater care, and more profound discernment
than any of his ministers, persisted in his plan,
and flattered himself that it might be accom-
plished not only without danger to his own per-
son, but even without the expence of any con-
cession detrimental to his crown.

WITH this view he communicated the matter To which
to the French ambassador at his court, and sent Francis
Granvelle his chief minister to Paris, in order to consents.
obtain from Francis permission to pass through
his dominions, and to promise that he would
soon settle the affair of the Milanese to his satis-
faction. But at the same time he entreated that
Francis would not exact any new promise, or
even insist on former engagements, at this junc-
ture, lest whatever he should grant, under his
present circumstances, might seem rather to be
extorted by necessity, than to flow from friend-
ship or the love of justice. Francis, instead of
attending to the snare which such a slight artifice

BOOK VI. scarcely concealed, was so dazzled with the
 1539. splendour of overcoming an enemy by acts of generosity, and so pleased with the air of superiority which the rectitude and disinterestedness of his proceedings gave him on this occasion, that he at once assented to all that was demanded. Judging of the Emperor's heart by his own, he imagined that the sentiments of gratitude, arising from the remembrance of good offices and liberal treatment, would determine him more forcibly to fulfil what he had so often promised, than the most precise stipulations that could be inserted in any treaty.

His reception in that kingdom.

UPON this, Charles, to whom every moment was precious, set out, notwithstanding the fears and suspicions of his Spanish subjects, with a small but splendid train of about an hundred persons. At Bayonne, on the frontiers of France, he was received by the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, attended by the constable Montmorency. The two Princes offered to go into Spain, and to remain there as hostages for the Emperor's safety; but this he rejected, declaring that he relied with implicit confidence on the King's honour, and had never demanded nor would accept of any other pledge for his security. In all the towns through which he passed, the greatest possible magnificence was displayed; the magistrates presented him the keys of the

gates; the prison-doors were set open; and, by the royal honours paid to him, he appeared more like the sovereign of the country than a stranger. The King advanced as far as Chatelherault to meet him; their interview was distinguished by the warmest expressions of friendship and regard. They proceeded together towards Paris, and presented to the inhabitants of that city, the extraordinary spectacle of two rival Monarchs, whose enmity had disturbed and laid waste Europe during twenty years, making their solemn entry together with all the symptoms of a confidential harmony, as if they had forgotten for ever past injuries, and would never revive hostilities for the future *.

BOOK VI.

1539.

1540.

CHARLES remained six days at Paris; but amidst the perpetual caresses of the French court, and the various entertainments contrived to amuse or to do him honour, he discovered an extreme impatience to continue his journey, arising as much from an apprehension of danger which constantly oppressed him, as from the necessity of his presence in the Low Countries. Conscious of the disingenuity of his own intentions, he trembled when he reflected that some fatal accident might betray them to his rival, or lead him to suspect them; and though his arti-

The Emperor's solicitude,

* Thuan. Hist. lib. i. c. 14. Mém. de Bellay, 264.

BOOK VI. fices to conceal these should be successful, he
 1540. could not help fearing that motives of interest might at last triumph over the scruples of honour, and tempt Francis to avail himself of the advantage now in his hands. Nor were there wanting persons among the French ministers, who advised the King to turn his own arts, against the Emperor, and as the retribution due for so many instances of fraud or falsehood, to seize and detain his person until he granted him full satisfaction with regard to all the just claims of the French crown. But no consideration could induce Francis to violate the faith which he had pledged, nor could any argument convince him that Charles, after all the promises that he had given, and all the favours which he had received, might still be capable of deceiving him. Full of this false confidence he accompanied him to St. Quintin, and the two Princes, who had met him on the borders of Spain, did not take leave of him until he entered his dominions in the Low Countries.

and disingenuity.

January 24.

As soon as the Emperor reached his own territories, the French ambassadors demanded the accomplishment of what he had promised concerning the investiture of Milan; but Charles, under the plausible pretext that his whole attention was then engrossed by the consultations necessary towards suppressing the rebellion in

Ghent, put off the matter for some time. But BOOK VI.
 in order to prevent Francis from suspecting his 1540.
 sincerity, he still continued to talk of his resolu-
 tions with respect to that matter in the same
 strain as when he entered France, and even
 wrote to the King much to the same purpose,
 though in general terms, and with equivocal ex-
 pressions, which he might afterwards explain
 away or interpret at pleasure ¹⁰.

MEANWHILE, the unfortunate citizens of ^{Reduction}
 Ghent, destitute of leaders capable either of ^{of Ghent;}
 directing their councils, or conducting their
 troops; abandoned by the French King and un-
 supported by their countrymen; were unable to
 resist their offended sovereign, who was ready to
 advance against them with one body of troops
 which he had raised in the Netherlands, with
 another drawn out of Germany, and a third
 which had arrived from Spain by sea. The near
 approach of danger made them, at last, so sen-
 sible of their own folly, that they sent ambassa-
 dors to the Emperor, imploring his mercy, and
 offering to set open their gates at his approach.
 Charles without vouchsafing them any other an-
 swer, than that he would appear among them
 as their sovereign, with the sceptre and the
 sword in his hand, began his march at the head

¹⁰ Mémoires de Ribier, i. 504.

BOOK VI. of his troops. Though he chose to enter the
 1540. city on the twenty-fourth of February, his birth-
 day, he was touched with nothing of that ten-
 derness or indulgence which was natural towards
 the place of his nativity. Twenty-six of the
 principal citizens were put to death; a greater
 and punish- number was sent into banishment; the city was
 ment of the citizens.
 April 20. declared to have forfeited all its privileges and
 immunities; the revenues belonging to it were
 confiscated; its ancient form of government was
 abolished; the nomination of its magistrates was
 vested for the future in the Emperor and his suc-
 cessors; a new system of laws and political ad-
 ministration was prescribed⁵¹, and in order to
 bridle the seditious spirit of the citizens, orders
 were given to erect a strong citadel, for defraying
 the expence of which a fine of an hundred and
 fifty thousand florins was imposed on the in-
 habitants, together with an annual tax of six
 thousand florins for the support of the garrison⁵².
 By these rigorous proceedings, Charles not only
 punished the citizens of Ghent, but set an awful
 example of severity before his other subjects in
 the Netherlands, whose immunities and privi-
 leges, partly the effect, partly the cause of their
 extensive commerce, circumscribed the royal

⁵¹ Les coutumes & loix du Comté de Flandre, par Alex.
 le Grand, 3 tom. fol. Cambray, 1719, tom. i. p. 169.

⁵² Haræi Annales Brabantia, vol. i. 616.

prerogative within very narrow bounds, and often stood in the way of measures which he wished to undertake, or fettered and retarded him in his operations. Book VI.
1540.

CHARLES having thus vindicated and re-established his authority in the Low Countries, and being now under no necessity of continuing the same scene of falsehood and dissimulation with which he had long amused Francis, began gradually to throw aside the veil under which he had concealed his intentions with respect to the Milanese. At first, he eluded the demands of the French ambassadors, when they again reminded him of his promises; then he proposed, by way of equivalent for the duchy of Milan, to grant the Duke of Orleans the investiture of Flanders, clogging the offer, however, with impracticable conditions, or such as he knew would be rejected⁵³. At last, being driven from all his evasions and subterfuges by their insisting for a categorical answer, he peremptorily refused to give up a territory of such value, or voluntarily to make such a liberal addition to the strength of an enemy by diminishing his own power⁵⁴. He denied at the same time, that he had ever made any promise which could bind him to an action so foolish, and so contrary to his own interest⁵⁵.

Charles refuses to fulfil his engagements to Francis.

⁵³ Mém. de Ribier, i. 509. 514. ⁵⁴ Ribier, i. 519.

⁵⁵ Bellay, 365-6.

BOOK VI. OF all the transactions in the Emperor's life
 1540. this, without doubt, reflects the greatest dishonour on his reputation⁵⁶. Though Charles was not extremely scrupulous at other times about the means which he employed for accomplishing his ends, or always observant of the strict precepts of veracity and honour, he had hitherto maintained some regard for the maxims of that less precise and rigid morality by which Monarchs think themselves entitled to regulate their conduct. But, on this occasion, the scheme that he formed of deceiving a generous and open-hearted Prince; the illiberal and mean artifices by which he carried it on; the insensibility with which he received all the marks of his friendship, as well as the ingratitude with which he requited them; are all equally unbecoming the dignity of his character, and inconsistent with the grandeur of his views.

THIS transaction exposed Francis to as much scorn as it did the Emperor to censure. After the experience of a long reign, after so many opportunities of discovering the duplicity and artifices of his rival, the credulous simplicity with which he trusted him at this juncture seemed to merit no other return than it actually met with. Francis, however, remonstrated and ex-

⁵⁶ Jovii Hist. lib. xxxix. p. 238, a.

claimed, as if this had been the first instance in BOOK VI.
 which the Emperor had deceived him. Feeling, 1540.
 as is usual, the insult which was offered to his
 understanding still more sensibly than the injury
 done to his interest, he discovered such resent-
 ment, as made it obvious that he would lay hold
 on the first opportunity of being revenged, and
 that a war, no less rancorous than that which
 had so lately raged, would soon break out anew
 in Europe.

THIS year is rendered memorable by the esta-
 blishment of the Order of Jesuits; a body whose
 influence on ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs
 hath been so considerable, that an account of the
 genius of its laws and government justly merits
 a place in history. When men take a view of
 the rapid progress of this society towards wealth
 and power; when they contemplate the admi-
 rable prudence with which it has been governed;
 when they attend to the persevering and syste-
 matick spirit with which its schemes have been
 carried on; they are apt to ascribe such a singu-
 lar institution to the superior wisdom of its foun-
 der, and to suppose that he had formed and di-
 gested his plan with profound policy. But the
 Jesuits, as well as the other monastick orders, are
 indebted for the existence of their order not to
 the wisdom of their founder, but to his enthu-
 siasm. Ignatio Loyola, whom I have already

The Pope
 authorizes
 the institu-
 tion of the
 Order of
 Jesuits.

BOOK VI. mentioned on occasion of the wound which he
 1540. received in defending Pampeluna⁵⁷, was a fanatick distinguished by extravagancies in sentiment and conduct, no less incompatible with the maxims of sober reason, than repugnant to the spirit of true religion. The wild adventures, and visionary schemes, in which his enthusiasm engaged him, equal any thing recorded in the legends of the Romish saints; but are unworthy of notice in history.

Fanaticism
 of Loyola
 its founder.

PROMPTED by this fanatical spirit, or incited by the love of power and distinction, from which such pretenders to superior sanctity are not exempt, Loyola was ambitious of becoming the founder of a religious order. The plan, which he formed of its constitution and laws, was suggested, as he gave out, and as his followers still teach, by the immediate inspiration of heaven⁵⁸. But notwithstanding this high pretension, his design met at first with violent opposition. The Pope, to whom Loyola had applied for the sanction of his authority to confirm the institution, referred his petition to a committee of Cardinals. They represented the establishment to be unnecessary as well as dangerous, and Paul refused to grant his approbation of it. At last, Loyola

⁵⁷ Vol. ii. Book ii. p. 192.

⁵⁸ Compte rendu des Constitutions des Jésuites, au Parlement de Provence, par M. de Monclar, p. 285.

removed all his scruples by an offer which it was impossible for any Pope to resist. He proposed that besides the three vows of poverty, of chastity, and of monastick obedience, which are common to all the orders of regulars, the members of his society should take a fourth vow of obedience to the Pope, binding themselves to go whithersoever he should command for the service of religion, and without requiring any thing from the Holy See for their support. At a time when the papal authority had received such a shock by the revolt of so many nations from the Romish church; at a time when every part of the popish system was attacked with so much violence and success, the acquisition of a body of men, thus peculiarly devoted to the See of Rome, and whom it might set in opposition to all its enemies, was an object of the highest consequence. Paul, instantly perceiving this, confirmed the institution of the Jesuits by his bull; granted the most ample privileges to the members of the society; and appointed Loyola to be the first general of the order. The event hath fully justified Paul's discernment, in expecting such beneficial consequences to the See of Rome from this institution. In less than half a century, the society obtained establishments in every country that adhered to the Roman catholic church; its power and wealth increased amazingly; the number of its members became

BOOK VI.

1540.

The Pope's
motives for
confirming
the order.

Sept. 27.

BOOK VI. great; their character as well as accomplishments
 1540. were still greater; and the Jesuits were celebrated
 by the friends, and dreaded by the enemies of
 the Romish faith, as the most able and enterpriz-
 ing order in the church.

Its constitu-
 tion and ge-
 nius merit
 particular
 attention.

THE constitution and laws of the society were
 perfected by Laynez and Aquaviva, the two
 generals who succeeded Loyola, men far supe-
 rior to their master in abilities, and in the science
 of government. They framed that system of
 profound and artful policy which distinguishes
 the order. The large infusion of fanaticism,
 mingled with its regulations, should be imputed
 to Loyola its founder. Many circumstances con-
 curred in giving a peculiarity of character to
 the order of Jesuits, and in forming the mem-
 bers of it not only to take greater part in the
 affairs of the world than any other body of
 monks, but to acquire superior influence in the
 conduct of them.

The object
 of the order
 singular.

THE primary object of almost all the monastick
 orders is to separate men from the world, and
 from any concern in its affairs. In the solitude
 and silence of the cloister, the monk is called
 to work out his own salvation by extraordinary
 acts of mortification and piety. He is dead to
 the world, and ought not to mingle in its trans-
 actions. He can be of no benefit to mankind,

but by his example and by his prayers. On the contrary, the Jesuits are taught to consider themselves as formed for action. They are chosen soldiers, bound to exert themselves continually in the service of God, and of the Pope, his vicar on earth. Whatever tends to instruct the ignorant; whatever can be of use to reclaim or to oppose the enemies of the Holy See, is their proper object. That they may have full leisure for this active service, they are totally exempted from those functions, the performance of which is the chief business of other monks. They appear in no processions; they practise no rigorous austerities; they do not consume one half of their time in the repetition of tedious offices⁵⁹. But they are required to attend to all the transactions of the world, on account of the influence which these may have upon religion; they are directed to study the dispositions of persons in high rank, and to cultivate their friendship⁶⁰; and by the very constitution as well as genius of the order, a spirit of action and intrigue is infused into all its members.

As the object of the society of Jesuits differed from that of the other monastick orders, the diversity was no less in the form of its govern-
Peculiarities in the form of its policy, particularly

⁵⁹ Compte Rendu, par M. de Monclar, p. xiii. 290. Sur la destruct. des Jesuites, par M. D'Alembert, p. 42.

⁶⁰ Compte par M. de Monclar, p. xii.

BOOK VI. ment. The other orders are to be considered as
 1540. voluntary associations, in which whatever affects
 with respect the whole body, is regulated by the common
 to the power suffrage of all its members. The executive power
 of the gene- is vested in the persons placed at the head of
 ral. each convent, or of the whole society; the
 legislative authority resides in the community.
 Affairs of moment, relating to particular con-
 vents, are determined in conventual chapters;
 such as respect the whole order are considered
 in general congregations. But Loyola, full of the
 ideas of implicit obedience, which he had de-
 rived from his military profession, appointed that
 the government of his order should be purely
 monarchical. A general, chosen for life by
 deputies from the several provinces, possessed
 power that was supreme and independent, ex-
 tending to every person, and to every case.
 He, by his sole authority, nominated provincials,
 rectors, and every other officer employed in the
 government of the society, and could remove
 them at pleasure. In him was vested the sove-
 reign administration of the revenues and funds
 of the order. Every member belonging to it
 was at his disposal; and by his uncontrollable
 mandate, he could impose on them any task,
 or employ them in what service soever he
 pleased. To his commands they were required to
 yield not only outward obedience, but to resign
 up to him the inclinations of their own wills,
 and

and the sentiments of their own understandings. BOOK VI.
 They were to listen to his injunctions, as if they 1540.
 had been uttered by Christ himself. Under his
 direction, they were to be mere passive instru-
 ments, like clay in the hands of the potter, or
 like dead carcases incapable of resistance⁶¹. Such
 a singular form of policy could not fail to im-
 press its character on all the members of the
 order, and to give a peculiar force to all its
 operations. There is not in the annals of man-
 kind any example of such a perfect despotism,
 exercised not over monks shut up in the cells of
 a convent, but over men dispersed among all the
 nations of the earth.

As the constitutions of the order vest, in the Circumstan-
 General, such absolute dominion over all its ces which
 members, they carefully provide for his being enable him
 perfectly informed with respect to the character to exercise it
 and abilities of his subjects. Every novice who with the
 offers himself as a candidate for entering into the greatest ad-
 order, is obliged to *manifest his conscience* to the vantage.
 superior, or to a person appointed by him; and
 is required to confess not only his sins and de-
 fects, but to discover the inclinations, the pas-
 sions, and the bent of his soul. This manifesta-
 tion must be renewed every six months⁶². The

⁶¹ Compte rendu au Parlem. de Bretagne, par M. de Cha-
 lotais, p. 41, &c. Compte par M. de Monclar. 83. 185.

343:
⁶² Compte par M. de Monclar. p. 121, &c.

BOOK VI. 1540. society not satisfied with penetrating in this manner into the innermost recesses of the heart, directs each member to observe the words and actions of the novices; they are constituted spies upon their conduct; and are bound to disclose every thing of importance concerning them to the superior. In order that this scrutiny into their character may be as complete as possible, a long noviciate must expire, during which they pass through the several gradations of ranks in the society, and they must have attained the full age of thirty-three years, before they can be admitted to take the final vows, by which they become *professed* members⁶³. By these various methods, the superiors, under whose immediate inspection the novices are placed, acquire a thorough knowledge of their dispositions and talents. In order that the General, who is the soul that animates and moves the whole society, may have under his eye every thing necessary to inform or direct him, the provincials and heads of the several houses are obliged to transmit to him regular and frequent reports concerning the members under their inspection. In these they descend into minute details with respect to the character of each person, his abilities natural or acquired, his temper, his experience in affairs,

⁶³ Compte par M. de Moncl. 215. 241. Sur la destr. des Jéf. par M. D'Alemb. p. 39.

and the particular department for which he is best fitted ⁶⁴. These reports, when digested and arranged, are entered into registers, kept of purpose that the General may, at one comprehensive view, survey the state of the society in every corner of the earth; observe the qualifications and talents of its members; and thus choose, with perfect information, the instruments, which

BOOK VI.
1540.

⁶⁴ M. de Chalotais has made a calculation of the number of these reports, which the General of the Jesuits must annually receive according to the regulations of the society. These amount in all to 6584. If this sum be divided by 37, the number of provinces in the order, it appears that 177 reports concerning the state of each province are transmitted to Rome annually. *Compte*, p. 52. Besides this, there may be extraordinary letters, or such as are sent by the monitors or spies whom the General and Provincials entertain in each house. *Compte par M. de Moncl.* p. 431. *Hist. des Jesuites*, Amst. 1761. tom. iv. p. 56. The provincials and heads of houses not only report concerning the members of the society, but are bound to give the General an account of the civil affairs in the country wherein they are settled, as far as their knowledge of these may be of benefit to religion. This condition may extend to every particular, so that the General is furnished with full information concerning the transactions of every Prince and state in the world. *Compte par M. de Moncl.* 443. *Hist. des Jesuit.* *ibid.* p. 58. When the affairs with respect to which the provincials or rectors write are of importance, they are directed to use cyphers, and each of them has a particular cypher from the General. *Compte par M. Chalotais*, p. 54.

BOOK VI. his absolute power can employ in any service for
1540. which he thinks meet to destine them ⁶⁵.

Progress of
the power
and influ-
ence of the
order.

As it was the professed intention of the order of Jesuits to labour with unwearied zeal in promoting the salvation of men, this engaged them, of course, in many active functions. From their first institution, they considered the education of youth as their peculiar province; they aimed at being spiritual guides and confessors; they preached frequently in order to instruct the people; they set out as missionaries to convert unbelieving nations. The novelty of the institution, as well as the singularity of its objects procured the order many admirers and patrons. The governors of the society had the address to avail themselves of every circumstance in its favour, and in a short time, the number as well as influence of its members increased wonderfully. Before the expiration of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits had obtained the chief direction of the education of youth in every catholick country in Europe. They had become the confessors of almost all its monarchs, a function of no small importance in any reign, but under a weak Prince, superior even to that of minister. They were the spiritual guides of almost every person eminent for rank or power. They pos-

⁶⁵ Compte par M. de Moncl. p. 215. 439.—Compte par M. de Chalotais, p. 52. 222.

fessed the highest degree of confidence and in- Book VI.
 terest with the papal court, as the most zealous 1540.
 and able champions for its authority. The ad-
 vantages which an active and enterprizing body
 of men might derive from all these circumstances
 are obvious. They formed the minds of men
 in their youth. They retained an ascendant
 over them in their advanced years. They pos-
 sessed, at different periods, the direction of the
 most considerable courts in Europe. They
 mingled in all affairs. They took part in every
 intrigue and revolution. The General, by
 means of the extensive intelligence which he re-
 ceived, could regulate the operations of the
 order with the most perfect discernment, and by
 means of his absolute power could carry them
 with the utmost vigour and effect “*6*”.

TOGETHER with the power of the order, its Progress of
 wealth continued to increase. Various expedi- its wealth.
 ents were devised for eluding the obligation of

“ When Loyola in the year 1540 petitioned the Pope to
 authorize the institution of the order, he had only ten dis-
 ciples. But in the year 1608, sixty-eight years after their
 first institution, the number of Jesuits had increased to ten
 thousand five hundred and eighty-one. In the year 1710,
 the order possessed twenty-four *professed* houses; fifty-nine
 houses of probation; three hundred and forty residencies;
 six hundred and twelve colleges; two hundred missions; one
 hundred and fifty seminaries and boarding-schools; and
 consisted of 19,998 Jesuits. Hist. des Jesuites, tom. i. p. 20.

BOOK VI. the vow of poverty. The order acquired ample
 1540. possessions in every catholick country; and by
 the number as well as magnificence of its public buildings, together with the value of its property, moveable or real, it vied with the most opulent of the monastick fraternities. Besides the sources of wealth common to all the regular clergy, the Jesuits possessed one which was peculiar to themselves. Under pretext of promoting the success of their missions, and of facilitating the support of their missionaries, they obtained a special licence from the court of Rome, to trade with the nations which they laboured to convert. In consequence of this, they engaged in an extensive and lucrative commerce, both in the East and West Indies. They opened warehouses in different parts of Europe, in which they vended their commodities. Not satisfied with trade alone, they imitated the example of other commercial societies, and aimed at obtaining settlements. They acquired possession accordingly of a large and fertile province in the southern continent of America, and reigned as sovereigns over some hundred thousand subjects ⁶⁷.

Pernicious
 effects of
 these on
 civil society.

UNHAPPILY for mankind, the vast influence which the order of Jesuits acquired by all these

⁶⁷ Hist. des Jef. iv. 168—196, &c.

different means, has been often exerted with the most pernicious effect. Such was the tendency of that discipline observed by the society in forming its members, and such the fundamental maxims in its constitution, that every Jesuit was taught to regard the interest of the order as the capital object, to which every consideration was to be sacrificed. This spirit of attachment to their order, the most ardent, perhaps, that ever influenced any body of men⁶², is the characteristick principle of the Jesuits, and serves as a key to the genius of their policy, as well as to the peculiarities in their sentiments and conduct.

As it was for the honour and advantage of the society, that its members should possess an ascendant over persons in high rank or of great power, the desire of acquiring and preserving such a direction of their conduct, with greater facility, has led the Jesuits to propagate a system of relaxed and pliant morality, which accommodates itself to the passions of men, which justifies their vices, which tolerates their imperfections, which authorizes almost every action that the most audacious or crafty politician would wish to perpetrate.

⁶² Compte par M. de Moncl. p. 285.

BOOK VI.

1540.

As the prosperity of the order was intimately connected with the preservation of the papal authority, the Jesuits, influenced by the same principle of attachment to the interests of their society, have been the most zealous patrons of those doctrines, which tend to exalt ecclesiastical power on the ruins of civil government. They have attributed to the court of Rome a jurisdiction as extensive and absolute as was claimed by the most presumptuous pontiffs in the dark ages. They have contended for the entire independence of ecclesiasticks on the civil magistrate. They have published such tenets concerning the duty of opposing Princes who were enemies of the catholick faith, as countenanced the most atrocious crimes, and tended to dissolve all the ties which connect subjects with their rulers.

As the order derived both reputation and authority from the zeal with which it stood forth in defence of the Romish church against the attacks of the reformers, its members, proud of this distinction, have considered it as their peculiar function to combat the opinions, and to check the progress of the Protestants. They have made use of every art, and have employed every weapon against them. They have set themselves in opposition to every gentle or tolerating measure in their favour. They have

incessantly stirred up against them all the rage of ecclesiastical and civil persecution. Book VI.
1540.

MONKS of other denominations have, indeed, ventured to teach the same pernicious doctrines, and have held opinions equally inconsistent with the order and happiness of civil society. But they, from reasons which are obvious, have either delivered such opinions with greater reserve, or have propagated them with less success. Whoever recollects the events which have happened in Europe during two centuries, will find that the Jesuits may justly be considered as responsible for most of the pernicious effects arising from that corrupt and dangerous casuistry, from those extravagant tenets concerning ecclesiastical power, and from that intolerant spirit, which have been the disgrace of the church of Rome throughout that period, and which have brought so many calamities upon civil society “.

BUT amidst many bad consequences flowing from the institution of this order, mankind, it must be acknowledged, have derived from it some considerable advantages. As the Jesuits made the education of youth one of their capital objects, and as their first attempts to establish colleges for the reception of students were vio-

Some advantages resulting from the institution of this order.

“ Encyclopédie, Art. *Jésuites*, tom. viii. 513.

BOOK VI. 1540. Particular-ly to literature. lently opposed by the universities in different countries, it became necessary for them, as the most effectual method of acquiring the publick favour, to surpass their rivals in science and industry. This prompted them to cultivate the study of ancient literature with extraordinary ardour. This put them upon various methods for facilitating the instruction of youth; and by the improvements which they made in it, they have contributed so much towards the progress of polite learning, that on this account they have merited well of society. Nor has the order of Jesuits been successful only in teaching the elements of literature, it has produced likewise eminent masters in many branches of science, and can alone boast of a greater number of ingenious authors, than all the other religious fraternities taken together ^{7°}.

^{7°} M. d'Alembert has observed that though the Jesuits have made extraordinary progress in erudition of every species; though they can reckon up many of their brethren who have been eminent mathematicians, antiquaries, and critics; though they have even formed some orators of reputation; yet the order has never produced one man, whose mind was so much enlightened with sound knowledge, as to merit the name of a philosopher. But it seems to be the unavoidable effect of monastick education to contract and fetter the human mind. The partial attachment of a monk to the interest of his order, which is often incompatible with that of other citizens; the habit of implicit obedience

BUT it is in the new world that the Jesuits have exhibited the most wonderful display of their abilities, and have contributed most effectually to the benefit of the human species. Book VI
1540.
More especially from the settlement of the Jesuits in Paraguay.

The conquerors of that unfortunate quarter of the globe had nothing in view, but to plunder, to enslave, and to exterminate its inhabitants.

The Jesuits alone have made humanity the object of their settling there. About the beginning of the last century they obtained admission into the fertile province of Paraguay, which stretches across the southern continent of America, from the bottom of the mountains of Potosi, to the confines of the Spanish and Portuguese settlements on the banks of the river de la Plata. They found the inhabitants in a state little different from that which takes place among men when they first begin to unite together; strangers to the arts; subsisting precariously by hunting

to the will of a Superior, together with the frequent return of the wearisome and frivolous duties of the cloister, debase his faculties, and extinguish that generosity of sentiment and spirit, which qualifies men for thinking or feeling justly with respect to what is proper in life and conduct. Father Paul of Venice is, perhaps, the only person educated in a cloister, that ever was altogether superior to its prejudices, or who viewed the transactions of men, and reasoned concerning the interests of society, with the enlarged sentiments of a philosopher, with the discernment of a man conversant in affairs, and with the liberality of a gentleman.

BOOK VI. or fishing; and hardly acquainted with the first
1540. principles of subordination and government. The Jesuits set themselves to instruct and to civilize these savages. They taught them to cultivate the ground, to rear tame animals, and to build houses. They brought them to live together in villages. They trained them to arts and manufactures. They made them taste the sweets of society; and accustomed them to the blessings of security and order. These people became the subjects of their benefactors; who have governed them with a tender attention, resembling that with which a father directs his children. Respected and beloved almost to adoration, a few Jesuits presided over some hundred thousand Indians. They maintained a perfect equality among all the members of the community. Each of them was obliged to labour not for himself alone, but for the publick. The produce of their fields, together with the fruits of their industry of every species, were deposited in common storehouses, from which each individual received every thing necessary for the supply of his wants. By this institution, almost all the passions which disturb the peace of society, and render the members of it unhappy, were extinguished. A few magistrates, chosen by the Indians themselves, watched over the publick tranquillity and secured obedience to the laws. The sanguinary punishments frequent under other

governments were unknown. An admonition Book VI. from a Jesuit; a slight mark of infamy; or, 1540. on some singular occasion, a few lashes with a whip, were sufficient to maintain good order among these innocent and happy people⁷¹.

BUT even in this meritorious effort of the Jesuits for the good of mankind, the genius and spirit of their order have mingled and are discernible. They plainly aimed at establishing in Paraguay an independent empire, subject to the society alone, and which, by the superior excellence of its constitution and police, could scarcely have failed to extend its dominion over all the southern continent of America. With this view, in order to prevent the Spaniards or Portuguese in the adjacent settlements, from acquiring any dangerous influence over the people within the limits of the province subject to the society, the Jesuits endeavoured to inspire the Indians with hatred and contempt of these nations. They cut off all intercourse between their subjects and the Spanish or Portuguese settlements. They prohibited any private trader of either nation from entering their territories. When they were obliged to admit any person in a publick character from the neighbouring governments, they

Even here the ambition and policy of the order discernible.

⁷¹ Hist. du Paraguay par Pere de Charlevoix, tom. ii. 42, &c. Voyage au Perou par Don G. Juan & D. Ant. de Ulloa, tom. i. 540, &c. Par. 4to. 1752.

BOOK VI. 1540. did not permit him to have any conversation with their subjects, and no Indian was allowed even to enter the house where these strangers resided, unless in the presence of a Jesuit. In order to render any communication between them as difficult as possible, they industriously avoided giving the Indians any knowledge of the Spanish, or of any other European language; but encouraged the different tribes, which they had civilized, to acquire a certain dialect of the Indian tongue, and laboured to make that the universal language throughout their dominions. As all these precautions, without military force, would have been insufficient to have rendered their empire secure and permanent, they instructed their subjects in the European arts of war. They formed them into bodies of cavalry and infantry, completely armed and regularly disciplined. They provided a great train of artillery, as well as magazines stored with all the implements of war. Thus they established an army so numerous and well-appointed, as to be formidable in a country, where a few sickly and ill-disciplined battalions composed all the military force kept on foot by the Spaniards or Portuguese⁷².

⁷² Voyage de Juan & de Ulloa, tom. i. 549. Recueil de toutes les Pièces qui ont paru sur les Affaires des Jesuites en Portugal, tom. i. p. 7, &c.

THE Jesuits gained no considerable degree of power during the reign of Charles V. who, with his usual sagacity, discerned the dangerous tendency of the institution, and checked its progress⁷³. But as the order was founded in the period of which I write the history, and as the age to which I address this work hath seen its fall, the view which I have exhibited of the laws and genius of this formidable body will not, I hope, be unacceptable to my readers; especially as one circumstance has enabled me to enter into this detail with particular advantage. Europe had observed, for two centuries, the ambition and power of the order. But while it felt many fatal effects of these, it could not fully discern the causes to which they were to be imputed. It was unacquainted with many of the singular regulations in the political constitution or government of the Jesuits, which formed the enterprizing spirit of intrigue that distinguished its members, and elevated the body itself to such a height of power. It was a fundamental maxim with the Jesuits, from their first institution, not to publish the rules of their order. These they kept concealed as an impenetrable mystery. They never communicated them to strangers; nor even to the greater part of their own members. They refused to produce them when re-

BOOK VI.
 1540.
 Reason for
 giving so
 full a view
 of the go-
 vernment
 and progress
 of the order.

⁷³ Compte par M. de Moncl. 312.

BOOK VI.

1540.

quired by courts of justice ⁷⁴; and by a strange solecism in policy, the civil power in different countries authorized or connived at the establishment of an order of men, whose constitution and laws were concealed with a solicitude, which alone was a good reason for having excluded them. During the prosecutions lately carried on against them in Portugal and France, the Jesuits have been so inconsiderate as to produce the mysterious volumes of their institute. By the aid of these authentick records, the principles of their government may be delineated, and the sources of their power investigated with a degree of certainty and precision, which, previous to that event, it was impossible to attain ⁷⁵. But as I have pointed out the dangerous tendency of the constitution and spirit of the order with the freedom becoming an historian, the candour

⁷⁴ Hist. des Jes. tom. iii. 236, &c. Compte par M. de Chalot. p. 38.

⁷⁵ The greater part of my information concerning the government and laws of the order of Jesuits, I have derived from the reports of M. de Chalotais and M. de Monclar. I rest not my narrative, however, upon the authority even of these respectable magistrates and elegant writers, but upon innumerable passages which they have extracted from the constitutions of the order, deposited in their hands. Hospinian, a Protestant Divine of Zurich, in his *Historia Jesuitica*, printed A. D. 1619, published a small part of the constitutions of the Jesuits, of which by some accident he had got a copy; p. 13—54.

and

and impartiality no less requisite in that character call on me to add one observation, That no class of regular clergy in the Romish church has been more eminent for decency, and even purity of manners, than the major part of the order of Jesuits⁷⁶. The maxims of an intriguing, ambitious, interested policy, might influence those who governed the society, and might even corrupt the heart, and pervert the conduct of some individuals, while the greater number, engaged in literary pursuits, or employed in the functions of religion, was left to the guidance of those common principles which restrain men from vice, and excite them to what is becoming and laudable. The causes which occasioned the ruin of this mighty body, as well as the circumstances and effects with which it has been attended in the different countries of Europe, though objects extremely worthy the attention of every intelligent observer of human affairs, do not fall within the period of this history.

No sooner had Charles re-established order in the Low Countries, than he was obliged to turn his attention to the affairs of Germany. The Protestants pressed him earnestly to appoint that conference between a select number of the divines of each party, which had been stipulated

⁷⁶ Sur la destruct. des Jes. par M. D'Alembert, p. 55.

BOOK VI. in the convention at Francfort. The Pope con-
1540.

A confer-
ence be-
tween the
Popish and
Protestant
divines,
June 25.
Dec. 6.

1541.

sidered such an attempt to examine or decide the points in dispute as derogatory to his right of being the supreme judge in controversy; and being convinced that it would either be ineffectual by determining nothing, or prove dangerous by determining too much, he employed every art to prevent the meeting. The Emperor, however, finding it more for his interest to sooth the Germans, than to gratify Paul, paid little regard to his remonstrances. In a diet held at Haguenaw, matters were ripened for the conference. In another diet assembled at Worms, the conference was begun, Melancthon on the one side and Eckius on the other, sustaining the principal part in the dispute; but after they had made some progress, though without concluding any thing, it was suspended by the Emperor's command, that it might be renewed with greater solemnity in his own presence in a diet summoned to meet at Ratisbon. This assembly was opened with great pomp, and with a general expectation that its proceedings would be vigorous and decisive. By the consent of both parties, the Emperor was entrusted with the power of nominating the persons, who should manage the conference, which it was agreed should be conducted not in the form of a publick disputation, but as a friendly scrutiny or examination into the articles which had given rise to

the present controversies. He appointed Eckius, Gropper and Pflug, on the part of the Catholics; Melancthon, Bucer, and Pistorius, on that of the Protestants; all men of distinguished reputation among their own adherents, and, except Eckius, all eminent for their moderation, as well as desirous of peace. As they were about to begin their consultations, the Emperor put into their hands a book, composed, as he said, by a learned divine in the Low Countries, with such extraordinary perspicuity and temper, as, in his opinion, might go far to unite and comprehend the two contending parties. Gropper, a canon of Cologne, whom he had named among the managers of the conference, a man of address as well as of erudition, was afterwards suspected to be the author of this short treatise. It contained positions with regard to twenty-two of the chief articles in theology, which included most of the questions then agitated in the controversy between the Lutherans and the church of Rome. By ranging his sentiments in a natural order, and expressing them with great simplicity; by employing often the very words of scripture, or of the primitive fathers; by softening the rigour of some opinions, and explaining away what was absurd in others; by concessions, now on one side, and now on the other; and especially by banishing as much as possible scholastick phrases, those words and terms of art in controversy,

BOOK VI. which serve as badges of distinction to the different sects, and for which theologians often contend more fiercely than for opinions themselves; he framed his work in such a manner, as promised fairer than any thing that had hitherto been attempted, to compose and to terminate religious dissensions⁷⁷.

fruitless.

BUT the attention of the age was turned, with such acute observation, towards theological controversies, that it was not easy to impose on it by any gloss, how artful or specious soever. The length and eagerness of the dispute had separated the contending parties so completely, and had set their minds at such variance, that they were not to be reconciled by partial concessions. All the zealous Catholics, particularly the ecclesiastics who had a seat in the diet, joined in condemning Gropper's treatise as too favourable to the Lutheran opinions, the poison of which heresy it conveyed, as they pretended, with greater danger, because it was in some degree disguised. The rigid Protestants, especially Luther himself, and his patron the Elector of Saxony, were for rejecting it as an impious compound of error and truth, craftily prepared that it might impose on the weak, the timid, and the unthinking. But the divines, to whom the ex-

⁷⁷ Goldast, *Constit. Imper.* ii. p. 182.

amination of it was committed, entered upon Book VI.
 that business with greater deliberation and tem- 1541.
 per. As it was more easy in itself, as well as
 more consistent with the dignity of the church
 to make concessions, and even alterations with re-
 gard to speculative opinions, the discussion where-
 of is confined chiefly to schools, and which pre-
 sent nothing to the people that either strikes their
 imagination or affects their senses, they came to
 an accommodation about these without much
 labour, and even defined the great article con-
 cerning justification to their mutual satisfaction.
 But, when they proceeded to points of jurisdic-
 tion, where the interest and authority of the
 Roman See were concerned, or to the rites and
 forms of external worship, where every change
 that could be made must be publick, and draw
 the observation of the people, there the Catho-
 licks were altogether untractable; nor could the
 church either with safety or with honour abolish
 its ancient institutions. All the articles relative
 to the power of the Pope, the authority of coun-
 cils, the administration of the sacraments, the
 worship of saints, and many other particulars did
 not, in their nature, admit of any tempera-
 ment; so that after labouring long to bring
 about an accommodation with respect to these,
 the Emperor found all his endeavours ineffectual.
 Being impatient, however, to close the diet, he
 at last prevailed on a majority of the members

BOOK VI. to approve of the following recests; " That the
 1541. articles concerning which the divines had agreed
 Recests of in the conference, should be held as points de-
 the diet of cided, and be observed inviolably by all; that
 Ratisbon in the other articles about which they had differed,
 favour of a should be deferred to the determination of a ge-
 general neral council, or if that could not be obtained, to
 council a national synod of Germany; and if it should
 July 28. prove impracticable, likewise, to assemble a
 synod, that a general diet of the Empire should
 be called within eighteen months, in order to
 give some final judgment upon the whole con-
 troversy; that the Emperor should use all his
 interest and authority with the Pope, to procure
 the meeting either of a general council or synod;
 that, in the mean time, no innovations should
 be attempted, no endeavours should be em-
 ployed to gain profelytes; and neither the re-
 venues of the church, nor the rights of the mo-
 nasteries, should be invaded⁷⁸.

gives of-
 fence both
 to Papists
 and Protef-
 tants.

ALL the proceedings of this diet, as well as
 the recests in which they terminated, gave great
 offence to the Pope. The power which the
 Germans had assumed, of appointing their own
 divines to examine and determine matters of
 controverfy, he considered as a very dangerous
 invasion on his rights; the renewing of their

⁷⁸ Sleidan, 267, &c. Pallav. l. iv. c. 11. p. 136. F. Paul,
 p. 86. Seckend. l. iii. 256.

ancient propofal concerning a national fynod, which had been fo often rejected by him and his predeceffors, appeared extremely undutiful; but the bare mention of allowing a diet, compofed chiefly of laymen, to pafs judgment with refpect to articles of faith, was deemed no lefs criminal and profane, than the worft of thofe herefies which they feemed zealous to fuppreff. On the other hand, the Proteftants were no lefs diffatisfied with a recaff, that confiderably abridged the liberty which they enjoyed at that time. As they murmured loudly againft it, Charles, unwilling to leave any feeds of difcontent in the Empire, granted them a private declaration, in the moft ample terms, exempting them from whatever they thought oppreffive or injurious in the recaff, and afcertaining to them the full poffeffion of all the privileges which they had ever enjoyed⁷⁹.

Book VI.
1541.

Charles
courts the
Proteftants,

EXTRAORDINARY as thefe concessions may appear, the fituation of the Emperor's affairs at this juncture made it neceffary for him to grant them. He forefaw a rupture with France to be not only unavoidable, but near at hand, and durft not give any fuch caufe of difguft or fear to the Proteftants, as might force them, in felf-defence, to court the protection of the French King,

Affairs of
Hungary.

⁷⁹ Sleid. 283. Seckend. 366. Dumont Corps Diplom. iv. p. ii. p. 210.

BOOK VI. from whom, at present, they were much alien-
1541. ated. The rapid progress of the Turks in Hungary, was a more powerful and present cause of the moderation which Charles discovered. A great revolution had happened in that kingdom; John Zapol Scæpus having chosen, as has been related, rather to possess a tributary kingdom, than to renounce the royal dignity to which he had been accustomed, had, by the assistance of his mighty protector Solyman, wrested from Ferdinand a great part of the country, and left him only the precarious possession of the rest. But being a Prince of pacifick qualities, the frequent attempts of Ferdinand, or of his partisans among the Hungarians, to recover what they had lost, greatly disquieted him; and the necessity on these occasions, of calling in the Turks, whom he considered and felt to be his masters rather than auxiliaries, was hardly less mortifying. In order, therefore, to avoid these distresses, as well as to secure quiet and leisure for enjoying the arts and amusements in which he delighted, he secretly came to an agreement with his competitor, on this condition; That Ferdinand should acknowledge him as King of Hungary, and leave him, during life, the unmolested possession of that part of the kingdom now in his power; but that, upon his demise, the sole right of the whole should devolve upon Ferdi-

A. D. 1535.

nand ⁸⁰. As John had never been married, and was then far advanced in life, the terms of the contract seemed very favourable to Ferdinand. But, soon after, some of the Hungarian nobles, solicitous to prevent a foreigner from ascending their throne, prevailed on John to put an end to a long celibacy, by marrying Isabella, the daughter of Sigismund, King of Poland. John had the satisfaction, before his death, which happened within less than a year after his marriage, to see a son born to inherit his kingdom. To him without regarding his treaty with Ferdinand, which he considered, no doubt, as void, upon an event not foreseen when it was concluded, he bequeathed his crown; appointing the Queen and George Martinuzzi, bishop of Waradin, guardians of his son, and regents of the kingdom. The greater part of the Hungarians immediately acknowledged the young Prince as King, to whom, in memory of the founder of their monarchy, they gave the name of Stephen ⁸¹.

Book VI
1541.

Death of the
King of
Hungary.

FERDINAND, though extremely disconcerted by this unexpected event, resolved not to abandon the kingdom which he had acquired by his compact with John. He sent ambassadors to the Queen to claim possession, and to offer the

Ferdinand's
efforts to
obtain the
crown.

⁸⁰ Istuanhaffi Hist. Hung. lib. xii. p. 135.

⁸¹ Jovii Hist. lib. xxxix. p. 239, a. &c.

BOOK VI. province of Transylvania as a settlement for her
 1541. son, preparing at the same time to assert his
 right by force of arms. But John had committed the care of his son to persons, who had too much spirit to give up the crown tamely, and who possessed abilities sufficient to defend it. The Queen, to all the address peculiar to her own sex, added a masculine courage, ambition, and magnanimity. Martinuzzi, who had raised himself from the lowest rank in life to his present dignity, was one of those extraordinary men, who, by the extent as well as variety of their talents, are fitted to act a superior part in bustling and factious times. In discharging the functions of his ecclesiastical office, he put on the semblance of an humble and austere sanctity. In civil transactions, he discovered industry, dexterity, and boldness. During war he laid aside the cassock, and appeared on horseback with his scymitar and buckler, as active, as ostentatious, and as gallant as any of his countrymen. Amidst all these different and contradictory forms which he could assume, an insatiable desire of dominion and authority was conspicuous. From such persons it was obvious what answer Ferdinand had to expect. He soon perceived that he must depend on arms alone for recovering Hungary. Having levied for this purpose a considerable body of Germans, whom his partisans among the Hungarians joined with

Character
 and power
 of Marti-
 nuzzi.

their vassals, he ordered them to march into that part of the kingdom which adhered to Stephen. Martinuzzi, unable to make head against such a powerful army in the field, satisfied himself with holding out the towns, all of which, especially Buda, the place of greatest consequence, he provided with every thing necessary for defence; and in the mean time he sent ambassadors to Solyman, beseeching him to extend towards the son, the same Imperial protection which had so long maintained the father on his throne. The Sultan, though Ferdinand used his utmost endeavours to thwart this negociation, and even offered to accept of the Hungarian crown on the same ignominious condition of paying tribute to the Ottoman Porte, by which John had held it, saw such prospects of advantage from espousing the interest of the young King, that he instantly promised him his protection; and commanding one army to advance forthwith towards Hungary, he himself followed with another. Meanwhile the Germans, hoping to terminate the war by the reduction of a city in which the King and his mother were shut up, had formed the siege of Buda. Martinuzzi, having drawn thither the strength of the Hungarian nobility, defended the town with such courage and skill, as allowed the Turkish forces time to come up to its relief. They instantly

Book VI.

1541.

Calls in the
Turks.

BOOK VI. attacked the Germans, weakened by fatigue,
1541. diseases, and desertion, and defeated them with
great slaughter ⁸².

Solyman's
ungenerous
conduct.

SOLYMAN soon after joined his victorious troops, and being weary of so many expensive expeditions undertaken in defence of dominions which were not his own, or being unable to resist this alluring opportunity of seizing a kingdom, while possessed by an infant, under the guardianship of a woman and a priest, he allowed interested considerations to triumph with too much facility over the principles of honour and the sentiments of humanity. What he planned ungenerously, he executed by fraud. Having prevailed on the Queen to send her son, whom he pretended to be desirous of seeing, into his camp, and having at the same time invited the chief of the nobility to an entertainment there, while they, suspecting no treachery, gave themselves up to the mirth and jollity of the feast, a select band of troops by the Sultan's orders seized one of the gates of Buda. Being thus master of the capital, of the King's person, and of the leading men among the nobles, he ordered the Queen, together with her son, to be conducted to Transylvania, which province he allotted to them, and, appointing a Bascha to preside in Buda

⁸² Istuanhaffi Hist. Hung. lib. xiv. p. 150.

with a large body of soldiers, annexed Hungary to the Ottoman Empire. The tears and complaints of the unhappy Queen had no influence to change his purpose, nor could Martinuzzi either resist his absolute and uncontrollable command, or prevail on him to recall it⁸³.

BOOK VI.
1541.

BEFORE the account of this violent usurpation reached Ferdinand, he was so unlucky as to have dispatched new ambassadors to Solyman with a fresh representation of his right to the crown of Hungary, as well as a renewal of his former overture to hold the kingdom of the Ottoman Porte, and to pay for it an annual tribute. This ill-timed proposal was rejected with scorn. The Sultan elated with success, and thinking that he might prescribe what terms he pleased to a Prince who voluntarily proffered conditions so unbecoming his own dignity, declared that he would not suspend the operations of war, unless Ferdinand instantly evacuated all the towns which he still held in Hungary, and consented to the imposition of a tribute upon Austria, in order to reimburse the sums which his presumptuous invasion of Hungary had obliged the Ottoman Porte to expend in defence of that kingdom⁸⁴.

Ferdinand's
overtures to
Solyman.

⁸³ Istuanhaffi, lib. xiv. p. 56. Jovii histor. lib. xxxix. p. 2476, &c.

⁸⁴ Istuanhaffi hist. Hung. lib. xiv. p. 158.

BOOK VI. IN this state were the affairs of Hungary.

1541. As the unfortunate events there had either happened before the dissolution of the diet at Ratisbon, or were dreaded at that time, Charles saw the danger of irritating and inflaming the minds of the Germans, while a formidable enemy was ready to break into the Empire; and perceived that he could not expect any vigorous assistance either towards the recovery of Hungary, or the defence of the Austrian frontier, unless he courted and satisfied the Protestants. By the concessions which have been mentioned, he gained this point, and such liberal supplies both of men and money were voted for carrying on the war against the Turks, as left him under little anxiety about the security of Germany during next campaign^{ss}.

Emperor
visits Italy.

IMMEDIATELY upon the conclusion of the diet, the Emperor set out for Italy. As he passed through Lucca he had a short interview with the Pope, but nothing could be concluded concerning the proper method of composing the religious disputes in Germany, between two Princes, whose views and interest with regard to that matter were at this juncture so opposite. The Pope's endeavours to remove the causes of discord between Charles and Francis, and to

^{ss} Sleid. 283.

extinguish those mutual animosities which threat- Book VI.
ened to break out suddenly into open hostility, 1541.
were not more successful.

THE Emperor's thoughts were bent so entire- His expedi-
ly, at that time, on the great enterprize which tion against
he had concerted against Algiers, that he listen- Algiers, and
ed with little attention to the Pope's schemes or motives of
overtures, and hastened to join his army and
fleet⁸⁶.

ALGIERS still continued in that state of de-
pendence on the Turkish empire to which Bar-
barossa had subjected it. Ever since he, as cap-
tain Basba, commanded the Ottoman fleet, Al-
giers had been governed by Hascen-Aga, a re-
negado eunuch, who, by passing through every
station in the Corfair's service, had acquired such
experience in war, that he was well fitted for a
station which required a man of tried and daring
courage. Hascen, in order to shew how well he
deserved that dignity, carried on his piratical
depredations against the Christian States with
amazing activity, and out-did, if possible, Bar-
barossa himself in boldness and cruelty. The
commerce of the Mediterranean was greatly in-
terrupted by his cruisers, and such frequent
alarms given to the coast of Spain, that there
was a necessity of erecting watch-towers at pro-

⁸⁶ Sandov. histor. tom. ii. 298.

Book VI. per distances, and of keeping guards constantly
 1541. on foot, in order to descry the approach of his
 squadrons, and to protect the inhabitants from
 their descents⁸⁷. Of this the Emperor's subjects
 had long complained, representing it as an en-
 terprise corresponding to his power, and becom-
 ing his humanity, to reduce Algiers, which,
 since the conquest of Tunis, was the common
 receptacle of all the free-booters; and to exter-
 minate that lawless race, the implacable ene-
 mies of the Christian name. Moved partly by
 their entreaties, and partly allured by the hope
 of adding to the glory which he had acquired
 by his last expedition into Africa, Charles, be-
 fore he left Madrid, in his way to the Low Coun-
 tries, had issued orders both in Spain and Italy
 to prepare a fleet and army for this purpose.
 No change in circumstances, since that time,
 could divert him from this resolution, or prevail
 on him to turn his arms towards Hungary;
 though the success of the Turks in that country
 seemed more immediately to require his presence
 there; though many of his most faithful adhe-
 rents in Germany urged that the defence of the
 Empire ought to be his first and peculiar care;
 though such as bore him no good-will ridiculed
 his preposterous conduct in flying from an ene-
 my almost at hand, that he might go in quest of

⁸⁷ Jovii hist. l. xl. p. 266.

a remote and more ignoble foe. But to attack Book VI.
the Sultan in Hungary, how splendid soever that 1541.
measure might appear, was an undertaking which
exceeded his power, and was not consistent with
his interest. To draw troops out of Spain or
Italy, to march them into a country so distant
as Hungary, to provide the vast apparatus ne-
cessary for transporting thither the artillery, am-
munition, and baggage of a regular army, and
to push the war in that quarter, where it could
not be brought to any issue during several cam-
paigns, were undertakings so expensive and un-
wieldy as did not correspond with the low con-
dition of the Emperor's treasury. While his
principal force was thus employed, his domi-
nions in Italy and the Low Countries must have
lain open to the French King, who would not
have allowed such a favourable opportunity of
attacking them to go unimproved. Whereas the
African expedition, the preparations for which
were already finished, and almost the whole ex-
pence of it defrayed, would depend upon a
single effort, and besides the security and satis-
faction which the success of it must give his
subjects, would detain him during so short a
space, that Francis could hardly take advantage
of his absence, to invade his dominions in Eu-
rope.

BOOK VI. ON all these accounts, Charles adhered to his
 1541. first plan, and with such determined obstinacy,
 His prepara- that he paid no regard to the Pope who advised,
 rations. or to Andrew Doria who conjured him not to
 expose his whole armament to almost unavoidable
 destruction, by venturing to approach the
 dangerous coast of Algiers at such an advanced
 season of the year, and when the autumnal
 winds were so violent. Having embarked on
 board Doria's galleys at Porto-Venere in the
 Genoese territories, he soon found that this ex-
 perience sailor had not judged wrong concern-
 ing the element with which he was so well ac-
 quainted; for such a storm arose that it was with
 the utmost difficulty and danger he reached Sar-
 dinia, the place of general rendezvous. But as
 his courage was undaunted, and his temper
 often inflexible, neither the remonstrances of the
 Pope and Doria, nor the danger to which he
 had already been exposed by disregarding them,
 had any other effect than to confirm him in his
 fatal resolution. The force, indeed, which he
 had collected was such as might have inspired a
 Prince less adventurous, and less confident in his
 own schemes, with the most sanguine hopes of
 success. It consisted of twenty thousand foot,
 and two thousand horse, Spaniards, Italians, and
 Germans, mostly veterans, together with three
 thousand volunteers, the flower of the Spanish

and Italian nobility, fond of paying court to the Emperor by attending him in this favourite expedition, and eager to share in the glory which they believed he was going to reap; to these were added a thousand soldiers sent from Malta by the order of St. John, led by an hundred of its most gallant Knights.

THE voyage, from Majorca to the African^{Lands in Africa.} coast, was not less tedious, or full of hazard, than that which he had just finished. When he approached the land, the roll of the sea, and vehemence of the winds, would not permit the troops to disembark. But at last, the Emperor, seizing a favourable opportunity, landed them without opposition, not far from Algiers, and immediately advanced towards the town. To oppose this mighty army, Hascen had only eight hundred Turks, and five thousand Moors, partly natives of Africa, and partly refugees from Granada. He returned, however, a fierce and haughty answer when summoned to surrender. But with such a handful of soldiers, neither his desperate courage, nor consummate skill in war, could have long resisted forces superior to those which had defeated Barbarossa at the head of sixty thousand men, and which had reduced Tunis, in spite of all his endeavours to save it.

BOOK VI.

1541.

The disasters which befell his army,

BUT howsoever far the Emperor might think himself beyond the reach of any danger from the enemy, he was suddenly exposed to a more dreadful calamity, and one against which human prudence and human efforts availed nothing. On the second day after his landing, and before he had time for any thing but to disperse some light-armed Arabs who molested his troops on their march, the clouds began to gather, and the heavens to appear with a fierce and threatening aspect. Towards evening, rain began to fall, accompanied with violent wind, and the rage of the tempest increasing, during the night, the soldiers, who had brought nothing ashore but their arms, remained exposed to all its fury, without tents, or shelter, or cover of any kind. The ground was soon so wet that they could not lie down on it; their camp being in a low situation was overflowed with water, and they sunk at every step to the ankles in mud; while the wind blew with such impetuosity, that, to prevent their falling, they were obliged to thrust their spears into the ground, and to support themselves by taking hold of them. Hascen was too vigilant an officer to allow an enemy in such distress to remain unmolested. About the dawn of morning, he sallied out with soldiers, who, having been screened from the storm under their own roofs, were fresh and vigorous. A body of Italians who were stationed nearest the city, dispirited

and benumbed with cold, fled at the approach of the Turks. The troops at the post behind them, discovered greater courage, but as the rain had extinguished their matches and wet their powder, their muskets were useless, and having scarcely strength to handle their other arms, they were soon thrown into confusion. Almost the whole army, with the Emperor himself in person, was obliged to advance, before the enemy could be repulsed, who, after spreading such general consternation, and killing a considerable number of men, retired at last in good order.

Book VI.

1541.

BUT all feeling or remembrance of this loss and fleet. and danger were quickly obliterated by a more dreadful as well as affecting spectacle. It was now broad day; the hurricane had abated nothing of its violence, and the sea appeared agitated with all the rage of which that destructive element is capable; all the ships, on which alone the whole army knew that their safety and subsistence depended, were seen driven from their anchors, some dashing against each other, some beat to pieces on the rocks, many forced ashore, and not a few sinking in the waves. In less than an hour, fifteen ships of war, and an hundred and forty transports with eight thousand men perished; and such of the unhappy crews as escaped the fury of the sea, were murdered without mercy, by the Arabs, as soon as they reached

BOOK VI. 1541. land. The Emperor stood in silent anguish and astonishment beholding this fatal event, which at once blasted all his hopes of success, and buried in the depths the vast stores which he had provided, as well for annoying the enemy, as for subsisting his own troops. He had it not in his power to afford them any other assistance or relief than by sending some troops to drive away the Arabs, and thus delivering a few who were so fortunate as to get ashore from the cruel fate which their companions had met with. At last the wind began to fall, and to give some hopes that as many ships might escape, as to save the army from perishing by famine, and transport them back to Europe. But these were only hopes; the approach of evening covered the sea with darkness, and it being impossible for the officers aboard the ships which had outlived the storm, to send any intelligence to their companions who were ashore, they remained during the night in all the anguish of suspense and uncertainty. Next day, a boat dispatched by Doria made shift to reach land, with information, that having weathered out the storm, to which, during fifty years knowledge of the sea, he had never seen any equal in fierceness and horror, he had found it necessary to bear away with his shattered ships to Cape Metafuz. He advised the Emperor, as the face of the sky was still lowering and tempestuous, to march with all

speed to that place, where the troops could re- Book VI.
embark with greater ease. 1541.

WHATEVER comfort this intelligence afford- Obligated to
ed Charles, from being assured that part of retreat.
his fleet had escaped, was balanced by the new
cares and perplexity in which it involved him
with regard to his army. Metafuz was at least
three days march from his present camp; all
the provisions which he had brought ashore at
his first landing were now consumed; his sol-
diers, worn out with fatigue, were hardly able
for such a journey, even in a friendly country;
and being dispirited by a succession of hardships,
which victory itself would scarcely have rendered
tolerable, they were in no condition to undergo
new toils. But the situation of the army was
such, as allowed not one moment for delibera-
tion, nor left it in the least doubtful what to
choose. They were ordered instantly to march,
the wounded, the sick, and the feeble being
placed in the center; such as seemed most vi-
gorous were stationed in the front and rear.
Then the sad effects of what they had suffered
began to appear more manifestly than ever, and
new calamities were added to all those which
they had already endured. Some could hardly
bear the weight of their arms; others, spent
with the toil of forcing their way through deep
and almost impassable roads, sunk down and

BOOK VI. died; many perished by famine, as the whole
1541. army subsisted chiefly on roots and berries, or
the flesh of horses, killed by the Emperor's order,
and distributed among the several battalions; many were drowned in brooks, which were swollen so much by the excessive rains, that in passing them they waded up to the chin; not a few were killed by the enemy, who, during the greatest part of their retreat, alarmed, harassed, and annoyed them night and day. At last they arrived at Metafuz; and the weather being now so calm as to restore their communication with the fleet, they were supplied with plenty of provisions, and cheered with the prospect of safety.

His fortitude of mind.

DURING this dreadful series of calamities, the Emperor discovered great qualities, many of which an almost uninterrupted flow of prosperity had hitherto afforded him no opportunity of displaying. He appeared conspicuous for firmness and constancy of spirit, for magnanimity, fortitude, humanity, and compassion. He endured as great hardships as the meanest soldier; he exposed his own person wherever danger threatened; he encouraged the desponding, visited the sick and wounded; and animated all by his words and example. When the army embarked, he was among the last who left the shore, although a body of Arabs hovered at no great distance, ready to fall on the rear. By

these virtues, Charles atoned, in some degree, Book VI.
for his obstinacy and presumption in undertak- 1541.
ing an expedition so fatal to his subjects.

THE calamities which attended this unfor- Returns to
tunate enterprize did not end here; for no sooner Europe.
were the forces got on board, than a new storm
arising, though less furious than the former, scat-
tered the fleet, and obliged them, separately,
to make towards such ports in Spain or Italy as
they could first reach; thus spreading the ac-
count of their disasters, with all the circum-
stances of aggravation and horror, which their
fear or fancy suggested. The Emperor himself,
after escaping great dangers, and being forced
into the port of Bugia in Africa, where he was Decem. 2.
obliged by contrary winds to remain several
weeks, arrived at last in Spain, in a condition
very different from that in which he had return- Book VII.
ed from his former expedition against the In- 1541.
fidels^{**}.

^{**} Carol. V. Expeditio ad Argyriam per Nicolaum Villag-
nonem Equitem Rhodium ap. Scardium, v. ii. 365. Jovii
Hist. l. xl. p. 269, &c. Vera y Zuniga vida de Carlos V.
p. 83. Sandov. Histor. ii. 299, &c.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK VII.

BOOK VII. **T**HE calamities which the Emperor suffered in his unfortunate enterprize against Algiers were great; and the account of these, which augmented in proportion as it spread at a great distance from the scene of his disasters, encouraged Francis to begin hostilities, on which he had been for some time resolved. But he did not think it prudent to produce, as the motives of this resolution, either his ancient pretensions to the dutchy of Milan, or the Emperor's disingenuity in violating his repeated promises with regard to the restitution

1541.
Renewal of
hostilities by
Francis, and
his motives
for it.

of that country. The former might have been a good reason against concluding the truce of Nice, but was none for breaking it; the latter could not be urged without exposing his own credulity as much as the Emperor's want of integrity. A violent and unwarrantable action of one of the Imperial generals, furnished him with a reason to justify his taking arms, which was of greater weight than either of these, and such as would have roused him, if he had been as desirous of peace as he was eager for war. Francis, by signing the treaty of truce at Nice, without consulting Solyman, gave (as he foresaw) great offence to that haughty Monarch, who considered an alliance with him as an honour of which a Christian prince had cause to be proud. The French King's friendly interview with the Emperor in Provence, followed by such extraordinary appearances of union and confidence as accompanied Charles's reception in France, induced the Sultan to suspect that the two rivals had at last forgotten their ancient enmity, in order that they might form such a general confederacy against the Ottoman power, as had been wished for in Christendom and often attempted in vain. Charles, with his usual art, endeavoured to confirm and strengthen these suspicions, by instructing his emissaries at Constantinople, as well as in those courts with which Solyman held any intelligence, to repre-

BOOK VII.

1541.

BOOK VII. sent the concord between him and Francis to be
 1541. so entire, that their sentiments, views, and pursuits, would be the same for the future¹. It was not without difficulty that Francis effaced these impressions; but the address of Rincon, the French ambassador at the Porte, together with the manifest advantage of carrying on hostilities against the house of Austria in concert with France, prevailed at length on the Sultan to enter into a closer conjunction with Francis than ever. Rincon returned into France, in order to communicate to his master a scheme of the Sultan's, for gaining the concurrence of the Venetians in their operations against the common enemy. Solyman having lately concluded a peace with that republick, to which the mediation of Francis, and the good offices of Rincon had greatly contributed, thought it not impossible to allure the senate by such advantages, as, together with the example of the French Monarch, might overbalance any scruples arising either from decency or caution that could operate on the other side. Francis, warmly approving of this measure, dispatched Rincon back to Constantinople, and, directing him to go by Venice along with Fregoso, a Genoese exile, whom he appointed his ambassador to that republick, empowered them to negotiate the mat-

The murder
 of his am-
 bassadors, his
 pretext for
 this.

¹ Mém. de Ribier. tom. i. p. 502,

ter with the senate, to whom Solyman had sent an envoy for the same purpose². The marquis del Gualto, governor of the Milanese, an officer of great abilities, but capable of attempting and executing the most atrocious actions, got intelligence of the motions and destination of these ambassadors. As he knew how much his master wished to discover the intentions of the French King, and of what consequence it was to retard the execution of his measures, he employed some soldiers belonging to the garrison of Pavia to lie in wait for Rincon and Fregoso as they sailed down the Po, who murdered them and most of their attendants, and seized their papers. Upon receiving an account of this barbarous outrage, committed, during the subsistence of truce, against persons held sacred by the most uncivilized nations, Francis's grief for the unhappy fate of two servants whom he loved and trusted, his uneasiness at the interruption of his schemes by their death, and every other passion, were swallowed up and lost in the indignation which this insult on the honour of his crown excited. He exclaimed loudly against Gualto, who, having drawn upon himself all the infamy of assassination without making any discovery of importance, as the ambassadors had left their in-

BOOK VII.

1541.

² Hist. di Venet. del Paruta, iv. 125.

BOOK VII. 1541. instructions and other papers of consequence behind them, now boldly denied his being accessory in any wise to the crime. He sent an ambassador to the Emperor, to demand suitable reparation for an indignity, which no prince, how inconsiderable soever or pusillanimous, could tamely endure: And when Charles, impatient at that time to set out on his African expedition, endeavoured to put him off with an evasive answer, he appealed to all the courts in Europe, setting forth the heinousness of the injury, the spirit of moderation with which he had applied for redress, and the iniquity of the Emperor in disregarding this just request.

NOTWITHSTANDING the confidence with which Gualto asserted his own innocence, the accusations of the French gained greater credit than all his protestations; and Bellay, the French commander in Piedmont, procured, at length, by his industry and address, such a minute detail of the transaction, with the testimony of so many of the parties concerned, as amounted almost to a legal proof of the marquis's guilt. In consequence of this opinion of the publick, confirmed by such strong evidence, Francis's complaints were universally allowed to be well founded, and the steps which he took towards renewing hostilities, were ascribed not merely to ambition

or resentment, but to the unavoidable necessity of vindicating the honour of his crown ³. Book VII.
1541.

HOWEVER just Francis might esteem his own cause, he did not trust so much to that, as to neglect the proper precautions for gaining other allies besides the Sultan, by whose aid he might counterbalance the Emperor's superior power. But his negociations to this effect were attended with very little success. Henry VIII. eagerly bent at that time upon schemes against Scotland, which he knew would at once dissolve his union with France, was inclinable rather to take part with the Emperor, than to contribute in any degree towards favouring the operations against him. The Pope adhered inviolably to his ancient system of neutrality. The Venetians, notwithstanding Solyman's solicitations, imitated the Pope's example. The Germans, satisfied with the religious liberty which they enjoyed, found it more their interest to gratify than to irritate the Emperor; so that the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, who on this occasion were first drawn in to interest themselves in the quarrels of the more potent Monarchs of the south, and the Duke of Cleves, who had a dispute with the Emperor about the possession of Gueldres, were the only confederates whom Francis secured.

³ Bellay, 367, &c. Jovii Hist. lib. xl. 268

BOOK VII. But the dominions of the two former lay at such
 1541. a distance, and the power of the latter was so
 inconsiderable, that he gained little by their
 alliance.

Francis's
 industry in
 preparing
 for war.

FRANCIS, however, supplied all defects by his
 own activity. Being afflicted at this time with
 a distemper, the effect of his irregular pleasures,
 and which prevented his pursuing them with the
 same licentious indulgence, he applied to busi-
 ness with more than his usual industry. The
 same cause which occasioned this extraordinary
 attention to his affairs, rendered him morose and
 dissatisfied with the ministers whom he had hi-
 therto employed. This accidental peevishness
 being sharpened by reflecting on the false steps
 into which he had lately been betrayed, as well
 as the insults to which he had been exposed,
 some of those in whom he had hitherto placed
 the greatest confidence felt the effects of this
 change in his temper, and were deprived of
 their offices. At last he disgraced Montmorency
 himself, who had long directed affairs as well
 civil as military with all the authority of a
 minister no less beloved than trusted by his mas-
 ter; and Francis being fond of shewing that the
 fall of such a powerful favourite did not affect
 the vigour or prudence of his administration,
 this was a new motive to redouble his diligence

in

in preparing to open the war by some splendid Book VII.
and extraordinary effort. 1542.

FRANCIS accordingly brought into the field ^{He brings}
five armies. One to act in Luxemburgh under ^{five armies}
the Duke of Orleans, accompanied by the Duke ^{into the}
of Lorraine as his instructor in the art of war. field.
Another commanded by the Dauphin marched
towards the frontiers of Spain. A third led by
Van Rossem the marshal of Gueldres, and com-
posed chiefly of the troops of Cleves, had Bra-
bant allotted for the theatre of its operations. A
fourth, of which the Duke of Vendome was ge-
neral, hovered on the borders of Flanders. The
last, consisting of the forces cantoned in Pied-
mont, was destined for the admiral Annibaut.
The Dauphin and his brother were appointed to
command where the chief exertions were in-
tended, and the greatest honour to be reaped; the
army of the former amounted to forty thousand,
that of the latter to thirty thousand men. Nothing
appears more surprising than that Francis did
not pour with these numerous and irresistible
armies into the Milanese, which had so long been
the object of his wishes as well as enterprizes;
and that he should choose rather to turn almost
his whole strength into another direction, and
towards new conquests. But the remembrance
of the disasters which he had met with in his
former expeditions into Italy, together with the

BOOK VII. difficulty of supporting a war carried on at such
 1542. a distance from his own dominions, had gradually abated his violent inclination to obtain footing in that country, and made him willing to try the fortune of his arms in another quarter. At the same time he expected to make such a powerful impression on the frontier of Spain, where there were few towns of any strength, and no army assembled to oppose him, as might enable him to recover possession of the country of Roussillon, lately dismembered from the French crown, before Charles could bring into the field any force able to obstruct his progress. The necessity of supporting his ally the Duke of Cleves, and the hope of drawing a considerable body of soldiers out of Germany by his means, determined him to act with vigour in the Low Countries.

June.
 Their operations.

THE Dauphin and Duke of Orleans opened the campaign much about the same time; the former laying siege to Perpignan the capital of Roussillon, and the latter entering Luxemburgh. The Duke of Orleans pushed his operations with the greatest rapidity and success, one town falling after another, until no place in that large dutchy remained in the Emperor's hands but Thionville. Nor could he have failed of overrunning the adjacent provinces with the same ease, if he had not voluntarily stopt short in this

career of victory. But a report prevailing that the Emperor had determined to hazard a battle in order to save Perpignan, on a sudden the Duke, prompted by youthful ardour, or moved, perhaps, by jealousy of his brother, whom he both envied and hated, abandoned his own conquest, and hastened towards Rouffillon, in order to divide with him the glory of the victory. Book VII.
1542.

ON his departure some of his troops were disbanded, others deserted their colours, and the rest, cantoned in the towns which he had taken, remained inactive. By this conduct, which leaves a dishonourable imputation either on his understanding or his heart, or on both, he not only renounced whatever he could have hoped from such a promising commencement of the campaign, but gave the enemy an opportunity of recovering, before the end of summer, all the conquests which he had gained. On the Spanish frontier, the Emperor was not so inconsiderate as to venture on a battle, the loss of which might have endangered his kingdom. Perpignan, though poorly fortified, and briskly attacked, having been largely supplied with ammunition and provisions by the vigilance of Doria⁴, was defended so long and so vigorously by the Duke of Alva, the persevering obstinacy of whose

⁴ Sigonii Vita A. Doriæ, p. 1191.

Book VII. temper fitted him admirably for such service,
 1542. that at last the French, after a siege of three months, wasted by diseases, repulsed in several assaults, and despairing of success, relinquished the undertaking, and retired into their own country⁵. Thus all Francis's mighty preparations, either from some defect in his own conduct, or from the superior power and prudence of his rival, produced no effects which bore any proportion to his expence and efforts, or such as gratified; in any degree, his own hopes, or answered the expectation of Europe. The only solid advantage of the campaign was the acquisition of a few towns in Piedmont, which Bellay gained rather by stratagem and address, than by the force of his arms⁶.

1543.
 preparations
 for another
 campaign.

MEANWHILE the Emperor and Francis, though both considerably exhausted by such great but indecisive efforts, discovering no abatement of their mutual animosity, employed all their attention, tried every expedient, and turned themselves towards every quarter, in order to acquire new allies, together with such a reinforcement of strength as would give them the superiority in the ensuing campaign. Charles, taking advantage of the terror and resentment of

⁵ Sandov. Hist. tom. ii. 315.

⁶ Sandov. Hist. ii. 318. Bellay, 387, &c. Ferrer. ix.

the Spaniards, upon the sudden invasion of their country, prevailed on the Cortes of the several kingdoms to grant him subsidies with a more liberal hand than usual. At the same time, he borrowed a large sum from John, King of Portugal, and, by way of security for his repayment, put him in possession of the Molucca isles in the East Indies, with the gainful commerce of precious spices, which that sequestered corner of the globe yields. Not satisfied with this, he negociated a marriage between Philip his only son, now in his sixteenth year, and Mary daughter of that Monarch, with whom her father, the most opulent Prince in Europe, gave a large dower; and having likewise persuaded the Cortes of Aragon and Valencia to recognise Philip as the heir of these crowns, he obtained from them the donative usual on such occasions⁷. These extraordinary supplies enabled him to make such additions to his forces in Spain, that he could detach a great body into the Low Countries, and yet reserve as many as were sufficient for the defence of the kingdom. Having thus provided for the security of Spain, and committed the government of it to his son, he sailed for Italy, in his way to Germany. But how attentive soever to raise the funds for carry-

Book VII.

1543.

May.

⁷ Ferreras, ix. 238. 241. Jovii Hist. lib. xlii. 298. 6.

BOOK VII. ing on the war, or eager to grasp at any new
1543. expedient for that purpose, he was not so inconsiderate as to accept of an overture which Paul, knowing his necessities, artfully threw out to him. That ambitious Pontiff, no less sagacious to discern, than watchful to seize opportunities of aggrandizing his family, solicited him to grant Octavio his grandchild, whom the Emperor had admitted to the honour of being his son-in-law, the investiture of the dutchy of Milan, in return for which he promised such a vast sum of money as would have gone far towards supplying his present exigencies. But Charles, as well from unwillingness to alienate a province of so much value, as from disgust at the Pope, who had hitherto refused to join in the war against Francis, rejected the proposal. His dissatisfaction with Paul at that juncture was so great, that he even refused to approve his alienating Parma and Placentia from the patrimony of St. Peter, and settling them on his son and grandson as a fief to be held of the Holy See. As no other expedient for raising money among the Italian states remained, he consented to withdraw the garrisons which he had hitherto kept in the citadels of Florence and Leghorn; in consideration for which, he received a large present from Cosmo di Medici, who by this means secured his own independence, and got possession

of two forts, which were justly called the fetters of Tuscany³. Book VII.
1543.

BUT Charles, while he seemed to have turned his whole attention towards raising the sums necessary for defraying the expences of the year, had not been negligent of objects more distant, though no less important, and had concluded a league offensive and defensive with Henry VIII. from which he derived, in the end, greater advantage than from all his other preparations. Several slight circumstances, which have already been mentioned, had begun to alienate the affections of that Monarch from Francis his present ally, and new incidents of greater moment had occurred to increase his disgust and animosity. Henry, desirous of establishing an uniformity in religion in Great Britain, as well as fond of making profelytes to his own opinions, had formed a scheme of persuading his nephew the King of Scotland to renounce the Pope's supremacy, and to adopt the same system of reformation, which he had introduced into England. This measure he pursued with his usual eagerness and impetuosity, making such advantageous overtures to James, whom he considered as not over-scrupulously attached to any religious

The Emperor's negotiations with Henry VIII.

Henry's rupture with France and Scotland.

³ Adriani Istoria, i. 195. Sleid. 312. Jovii Hist. lib. xliii. p. 301. Vita di Cos. Medici. di Baldini, p. 34.

BOOK VII. tenets. that he hardly doubted of success. His
 1543. propositions were accordingly received in such
 a manner that he flattered himself with having
 gained his point. But the Scottish ecclesiasticks,
 foreseeing the ruin of the church to be the con-
 sequence of the King's union with England; and
 the partisans of France, no less convinced that
 it would put an end to the influence of that
 crown upon the publick councils of Scotland,
 combined together, and by their insinuations
 defeated Henry's scheme at the very moment
 when he expected it to have taken effect. Too
 haughty to brook such a disappointment, which
 he imputed as much to the arts of the French
 as to the levity of the Scottish Monarch, he
 took arms against Scotland, threatening to sub-
 due the kingdom, since he could not gain the
 friendship of its King. At the same time, his
 resentment at Francis quickened his negotiations
 with the Emperor, an alliance with whom he
 was now as forward to accept as the other could
 be to offer it. During this war with Scotland,
 and before the conclusion of his negotiations
 with Charles, James V. died, leaving his crown
 to Mary his only daughter, an infant a few days
 old. Upon this event, Henry altered at once his
 whole system with regard to Scotland, and aban-
 doning all thoughts of conquering it, aimed at
 what was more advantageous as well as more
 practicable, an union with that kingdom by a

marriage between Edward his only son and the young Queen. But here, too, he apprehended a vigorous opposition from the French faction in Scotland, which began to bestir itself in order to thwart the measure. The necessity of crushing this party among the Scots, and of preventing Francis from furnishing them any effectual aid, confirmed Henry's resolution of breaking with France, and pushed him on to put a finishing hand to the treaty of confederacy with the Emperor.

IN this league were contained first of all, articles for securing their future amity and mutual defence; then were enumerated the demands which they were respectively to make upon Francis; and the plan of their operations was fixed, if he should refuse to grant them satisfaction. They agreed to require that Francis should not only renounce his alliance with Solyman, which had been the source of infinite calamities to Christendom, but also that he should make reparation for the damages which that unnatural union had occasioned; that he should restore Burgundy to the Emperor; that he should desist immediately from hostilities, and leave Charles at leisure to oppose the common enemy of the Christian faith; and that he should immediately pay the sums due to Henry, or put some towns in his hands as security to that

Book VII.
1543.
Feb. 21.
Alliance
between
Charles and
Henry.

BOOK VII. effect. If, within forty days, he did not com-
 1543. ply with these demands, they then engaged to invade France each with twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and not to lay down their arms until they had recovered Burgundy, together with the towns on the Somme, for the Emperor, and Normandy and Guienne, or even the whole realm of France, for Henry⁹. Their heralds, accordingly, set out with these haughty requisitions; but not being permitted to enter France, could not perform their commission, and the two Monarchs held themselves fully entitled to execute whatever was stipulated in their treaty.

Francis's
 negotiations
 with Soly-
 man.

FRANCIS on his part was not less diligent in preparing for the approaching campaign. Having early observed the symptoms of Henry's disgust and alienation, and finding all his endeavours to soothe and reconcile him ineffectual, he knew his temper too well not to expect that open hostilities would quickly follow upon this cessation of friendship. For this reason he redoubled his endeavours to obtain from Solyman such aid as might counterbalance the great accession of strength which the Emperor would receive by his alliance with England. In order to supply the place of the two ambassadors who had been

⁹ Rym. xiv. 768. Herb. 238.

murdered by Gualto, he sent as his envoy, first to Venice, and then to Constantinople, Paulin, a captain of foot, a man of a daring active spirit, and on account of these qualities thought worthy of this service, to which he was recommended by Bellay, who had trained him to the arts of negociation, and made trial of his talents and address on several occasions. Nor did he belie the opinion conceived of his courage and abilities. Hastening to Constantinople, without regarding the dangers to which he was exposed, he urged his master's demands with such boldness, and availed himself of every circumstance with such dexterity, that quickly he removed all the Sultan's difficulties. As some of the Bashaws, swayed either by their own opinion, or influenced by the Emperor's emissaries, who had made their way even into this court, had declared in the Divan against acting in concert with France, he found means either to convince or silence them¹⁰. At last he obtained orders for Barbarossa to sail with a powerful fleet, and to regulate all his operations by the directions of the French King. Francis was not equally successful in his attempts to gain the princes of the Empire. The extraordinary rigour with which he thought it necessary to punish such of his

¹⁰ Sandov. Histor. tom. ii. 346. Jovii Hist. lib. xli. 285, &c. 300, &c. Brantome.

BOOK VII. subjects as had embraced the protestant opinions,
 1543. in order to give some notable evidence of his own zeal for the Catholick faith, and to wipe off the imputations to which he was liable from his confederacy with the Turks, placed an insuperable barrier between him and such of the Germans as interest or inclination would have prompted most readily to join him¹¹. His chief advantage, however, over the Emperor, he derived on this, as on other occasions, from the contiguity of his dominions, as well as from the extent of the royal authority in France, which exempted him from all the delays and disappointments unavoidable wherever popular assemblies provide for the expences of government by occasional and frugal subsidies. Hence his domestick preparations were always carried on with vigour and rapidity, while those of the Emperor, unless when quickened by some foreign supply, or some temporary expedient, were to the last degree slow and dilatory.

Operations
 in the Low-
 Countries.

LONG before any army was in readiness to oppose him, Francis took the field in the Low-Countries against which he turned the whole weight of the war. He made himself master of Landrecy, which he determined to keep as the key to the whole province of Hainault; and ordered it to be fortified with great care. Turning

¹¹ Seck. lib. iii. 403.

from thence to the right, he entered the dutchy of Luxembourg, and found it in the same defenceless state as in the former year. While he was thus employed, the Emperor having drawn together an army, composed of all the different nations subject to his government, entered the territories of the Duke of Cleves, on whom he had vowed to inflict exemplary vengeance. This Prince, whose conduct and situation were similar to that of Robert de la Mark in the first war between Charles and Francis, resembled him likewise in his fate. Unable, with his feeble army, to face the Emperor, who advanced at the head of forty-four thousand men, he retired at his approach; and the Imperialists being at liberty to act as they pleased, immediately invested Duren. That town, though gallantly defended, was won by assault, all the inhabitants put to the sword, and the place itself reduced to ashes. This dreadful example of severity struck the people of the country with such general terror, that all the other towns, even such as were capable of resistance, sent their keys to the Emperor; and before a body of French detached to his assistance could come up, the Duke himself was obliged to make his submission to Charles in the most abject manner. Being admitted into the Imperial presence, he kneeled, together with eight of his principal subjects, and implored mercy. The Emperor allowed him to remain in that ignominious

Book VII.

1543.

The Emperor becomes master of the Dutchy of Cleves. August 24.

Book VII. posture, and eying him with an haughty and
 1543. implacable look, without deigning to answer a
 single word, remitted him to his ministers. The
 Sept. 7. conditions, however, which they prescribed were
 not so rigorous as he had reason to have expected
 after such a reception. He was obliged to re-
 nounce his alliance with France and Denmark;
 to resign all his pretensions to the dutchy of
 Gueldres; to enter into perpetual amity with
 the Emperor and King of the Romans. In re-
 turn for which, all his hereditary dominions were
 restored, except two towns which the Emperor
 kept as pledges of his fidelity during the con-
 tinuance of the war, and he was re-instated in
 his privileges as a prince of the Empire. Not
 long after, Charles, as a proof of the sincerity of
 his reconciliation, gave him in marriage one of
 the daughters of his brother Ferdinand¹².

Besieges
 Landrecy.

HAVING thus chastised the presumption of
 the Duke of Cleves, detached one of his allies
 from Francis, and added to his dominions in the
 Low Countries a considerable province which
 lay contiguous to them, Charles advanced to-
 wards Hainault, and laid siege to Landrecy.
 There, as the first fruits of his alliance with
 Henry, he was joined by six thousand English

¹² Haræi Annal. Brabant. t. i. 628. Recueil des Trai-
 tez, t. ii. 226.

under Sir John Wallop. The garrison, consisting of veteran troops commanded by De la Lande and Dessé, two officers of reputation, made a vigorous resistance. Francis approached with all his forces to relieve that place; Charles covered the siege; both were determined to hazard an engagement; and all Europe expected to see this contest, which had continued so long, decided at last by a battle between two great armies, led by their respective Monarchs in person. But the ground which separated their two camps was such, as put the disadvantage manifestly on his side who should venture to attack, and neither of them chose to run that risque. Amidst a variety of movements, in order to draw the enemy into this snare, or to avoid it themselves, Francis, with admirable conduct, and equal good fortune, threw first a supply of fresh troops, and then a convoy of provisions into the town, so that the Emperor, despairing of success, withdrew into winter-quarters¹³, in order to preserve his army from being entirely ruined by the rigour of the season.

BOOK VII.
1543.

DURING this campaign, Solyman fulfilled his engagements to the French King with great punctuality. He himself marched into Hungary with a numerous army; and as the princes of the Em-

November.
Solyman invades Hungary.

¹³ Bellay, 405, &c.

BOOK VII. 1543. pire made no great effort to save a country which Charles, by employing his own force against Francis, seemed willing to sacrifice, there was no appearance of any body of troops to oppose his progress. He besieged, one after another, Quinque Ecclesiæ, Alba, and Gran, the three most considerable towns in the kingdom, of which Ferdinand had kept possession. The first was taken by storm; the other two surrendered; and the whole kingdom, a small corner excepted, was subjected to the Turkish yoke¹⁴. About the same time, Barbarossa sailed with a fleet of an hundred and ten gallies, and coasting along the shore of Calabria, made a descent at Rheggio, which he plundered and burnt; and advancing from thence to the mouth of the Tiber, he stopt there to water. The citizens of Rome, ignorant of his destination, and filled with terror, began to fly with such general precipitation, that the city would have been left deserted, if they had not resumed courage upon letters from Paulin the French envoy, assuring them that no violence or injury would be offered by the Turks to any state in alliance with the King his master¹⁵. From Ostia, Barbarossa sailed to Marseilles, and being joined by the French fleet with a body of land-forces on board, under the count d'En-

Barbarossa's
descent on
Italy.

¹⁴ Istuanhaff. Histor. Hung. l. xv. 167.

¹⁵ Jovii Hist. l. xliii. 304, &c. Pallavic. 160.

guien,

guien, a gallant young Prince of the house of Bourbon, they directed their course towards Nice, the sole retreat of the unfortunate Duke of Savoy. There, to the astonishment and scandal of all Christendom, the Lilies of France and Crescent of Mahomet appeared in conjunction against a fortress on which the Cross of Savoy was displayed. The town, however, was bravely defended against their combined force by Montfort a Savoyard gentleman, who stood a general assault, and repulsed the enemy with great loss, before he retired into the castle. That fort situated upon a rock, on which the artillery made no impression, and which could not be undermined, he held out so long, that Doria had time to approach with his fleet, and the marquis del Guaſto to march with a body of troops from Milan. Upon intelligence of this, the French and Turks raised the siege¹⁶; and Francis had not even the consolation of success, to render the infamy, which he drew on himself by calling in such an auxiliary, more tolerable.

FROM the small progress of either party during this campaign, it was obvious to what length the war might be drawn out between two princes, whose power was so equally balanced,

¹⁶ Guichenon Histoire de la Savoye, t. i. p. 651. Bellay, 425, &c.

Book VII. and who, by their own talents or activity, could
 1543. so vary and multiply their resources. The trial
 which they had now made of each other's strength
 might have taught them the imprudence of per-
 sisting in a war, wherein there was greater ap-
 pearance of their distressing their own dominions
 than of conquering those of their adversary, and
 should have disposed both to wish for peace. If
 Charles and Francis had been influenced by con-
 siderations of interest or prudence alone, this,
 without doubt, must have been the manner in
 which they would have reasoned. But the personal
 animosity, which mingled itself in all their quar-
 rels, had grown to be so violent and implacable,
 that, for the pleasure of gratifying it, they dis-
 regarded every thing else; and were infinitely
 more solicitous how to hurt their enemy, than
 how to secure what would be of advantage to
 themselves. No sooner then did the season force
 them to suspend hostilities, than, without paying
 any attention to the Pope's repeated endeavours
 or paternal exhortations to re-establish peace,
 they began to provide for the operations of the
 next year with new vigour, and an activity
 increasing with their hatred. Charles turned his
 chief attention towards gaining the princes of
 the Empire, and endeavoured to rouse the for-
 midable but unwieldy strength of the Germanick
 body against Francis. In order to understand
 the propriety of the steps which he took for that

Affairs of
 Germany.

purpose, it is necessary to review the chief trans- BOOK VII.
actions in that country since the diet of Ratisbon 1543.
in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-
one.

MUCH about the time that assembly broke up, Maurice of
Maurice succeeded his father Henry in the go- Saxony suc-
ceeds his fa-
ther.
vernment of that part of Saxony which belonged
to the Albertine branch of the Saxon family.
This young Prince, then only in his twentieth
year, had, even at that early period, begun to
discover the great talents which qualified him
for acting such a distinguished part in the af-
fairs of Germany. As soon as he entered upon
the administration, he struck out into such a
new and singular path, as shewed that he aimed,
from the beginning, at something great and un-
common. Though zealously attached to the The views
and conduct
of this
young
prince.
Protestant opinions both from education and
principle, he refused to accede to the league of
Smalkalde, being determined, as he said, to
maintain the purity of religion which was the
original object of that confederacy, but not to
entangle himself in the political interests or com-
binations to which it had given rise. At the
same time, foreseeing a rupture between Charles
and the confederates of Smalkalde, and perceiv-
ing which of them was most likely to prevail in
the contest, instead of that jealousy and distrust
which the other Protestants expressed of all the

BOOK VII. Emperor's designs, he affected to place in him
1543. an unbounded confidence; and courted his favour with the utmost assiduity. When the other Protestants, in the year fifteen hundred and forty-two, either declined assisting Ferdinand in Hungary, or afforded him reluctant and feeble aid, Maurice marched thither in person, and rendered himself conspicuous by his zeal and courage. From the same motive, he had led to the Emperor's assistance, during the last campaign, a body of his own troops; and the gracefulness of his person, his dexterity in all military exercises, together with his intrepidity, which courted and delighted in danger, did not distinguish him more in the field, than his great abilities and insinuating address won upon the Emperor's confidence and favour¹⁷. While by this conduct, which appeared extraordinary to those who held the same opinions with him concerning religion, Maurice endeavoured to pay court to the Emperor, he began to discover some degree of jealousy of his cousin the Elector of Saxony. This, which proved in the sequel so fatal to the Elector, had almost occasioned an open rupture between them; and soon after Maurice's accession to the government, they both took arms with equal rage, upon account of a dispute about the right of jurisdiction over

¹⁷ Sleid. 317. Seck. l. iii. 371. 386. 428.

a paultry town situated on the Moldaw. They were prevented, however, from proceeding to action by the mediation of the Landgrave of Hesse, whose daughter Maurice had married, as well as by the powerful and authoritative admonitions of Luther¹⁸.

BOOK VII.

1543.

AMIDST these transactions, the Pope, though extremely irritated at the Emperor's concessions to the Protestants, at the diet of Ratisbon, was so warmly solicited on all hands, by such as were most devoutly attached to the See of Rome, no less than by those whose fidelity or designs he suspected, to summon a general council, that he found it impossible to avoid any longer calling that assembly. The impatience for its meeting, and the expectations of great effects from its decisions, seemed to grow in proportion to the difficulty of obtaining it. He still adhered, however, to his original resolution of holding it in some town of Italy, where, by the number of ecclesiasticks, retainers to his court, and depending on his favour, who could repair to it without difficulty or expence, he might influence and even direct all its proceedings. This proposition, though often rejected by the Germans, he instructed his nuncio to the diet held at Spire, in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-two, to renew once more; and if he found

The Pope proposes to hold a general council at Trent.

March 3.

¹⁸ Sleid. 292. Seck. l. iii. 403.

BOOK VII. it gave no greater satisfaction than formerly, he,
 1543. as a last concession, empowered him, to propose for the place of meeting, Trent, a city in the Tyrol subject to the King of the Romans, and situated on the confines between Germany and Italy. The Catholick princes in the diet, after giving it as their opinion that the council might have been held with greater advantage in Ratibon, Cologne, or some of the great cities in the Empire, approved of the place which the Pope had named. The Protestants unanimously expressed their dissatisfaction and protested that they would pay no regard to a council held without the precincts of the Empire, called by the Pope's authority, and in which he assumed the right of presiding¹⁹.

May 22.

1542.

Summons it
to meet.

THE Pope, without taking any notice of their objections, published the bull of intimation, named three cardinals to preside as his legates, and appointed them to repair to Trent before the first of November, the day he had fixed for opening the council. But if Paul had desired the meeting of a council as sincerely as he pretended, he would not have pitched on such an improper time for calling it. Instead of that general union and tranquillity, without which the deliberations of a council could neither be

¹⁹ Sleid. 291. Seck. l. iii. 283.

conducted with security, nor attended with au-
 thority, such a fierce war was just kindled be-
 tween the Emperor and Francis, as rendered it
 impossible for the ecclesiasticks from many parts
 of Europe to resort thither in safety. The le-
 gates, accordingly, remained several months at
 Trent; but as no person appeared there, except
 a few prelates from the ecclesiastical state, the
 Pope, in order to avoid the ridicule and con-
 tempt which this drew upon him from the ene-
 mies of the church, recalled them and prorogued
 the council ^{2°}.

BOOK VII.
 1543.

Obliged to
 prorogue it.

UNHAPPILY for the authority of the papal
 see, at the very time that the German Protest-
 ants took every occasion of pouring contempt
 upon it, the Emperor and King of the Romans
 found it necessary not only to connive at their
 conduct, but to court their favour by repeated
 acts of indulgence. In the same diet of Spire,
 wherein they had protested in the most disre-
 spectful terms against assembling a council at
 Trent, Ferdinand, who depended on their aid
 for the defence of Hungary, not only permitted
 that protestation to be inserted in the records of
 the diet, but renewed in their favour all the
 Emperor's concessions at Ratibon, adding to
 them whatever they demanded for their farther

The Empe-
 ror courts
 the Protest-
 ants.

^{2°} F. Paul, p. 97. Sleid. 296.

Book VII. security. Among other particulars, he granted
 1543. a suspension of a decree of the Imperial chamber
 against the city of Goslar, one of those which
 had entered into the league of Smalkalde, on
 account of its having seized the ecclesiastical re-
 venues within its domains, and enjoined Henry
 Duke of Brunswick to desist from his attempts
 to carry that decree into execution. But Henry,
 a furious bigot, and no less obstinate than rash
 in all his undertakings, continuing to disquiet
 the people of Goslar by his incursions, the Elec-
 tor of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse, that
 they might not suffer any member of the Smal-
 kaldick body to be oppressed, assembled their
 forces, declared war in form against Henry, and
 in the space of a few weeks, stripping him entirely
 of his dominions, drove him as a wretched exile
 to take refuge in the court of Bavaria. By this
 act of vengeance, no less severe than sudden,
 they filled all Germany with dread of their
 power, and the confederates of Smalkalde ap-
 peared, by this first effort of their arms, to be
 as prompt as capable to protect those who had
 joined their association ²¹.

Their vigor-
 ous proceed-
 ings.

EMBOLDENED by so many concessions in their
 favour, as well as by the progress which their

²¹ Sleid. 296. Commemoratio succincta causarum Belli,
 &c. a Smalkaldicis contra Henr. Brunsw. ab iisdem edita;
 ap. Scardium. tom. ii. 307.

opinions daily made, the princes of the league of Smalkalde took a solemn protest against the Imperial chamber, and declined its jurisdiction for the future, because that court had not been visited or reformed according to the decree of Ratisbon, and continued to discover a most indecent partiality in all its proceedings. Not long after this, they ventured a step farther; and protesting against the recess of a diet held at Nuremberg, which provided for the defence of Hungary, refused to furnish their contingent for that purpose, unless the Imperial chamber were reformed, and full security were granted them in every point with regard to religion ²².

BOOK VII.
1543.

April 23.
1543.

SUCH were the lengths to which the Protestants had proceeded, and such their confidence in their own power, when the Emperor returned from the Low Countries, to hold a diet, which he had summoned to meet at Spire. The respect due to the Emperor, as well as the importance of the affairs which were to be laid before it, rendered this assembly extremely full. All the Electors, a great number of princes ecclesiastical and secular, with the deputies of most of the cities, were present. Charles soon perceived that this was not a time to offend the jealous spirit of the Protestants, by asserting in any

Diet at
Spire.
1544.

²² Sleid. 304. 307. Seck. l. iii. 404. 416.

BOOK VII. high tone the authority and doctrines of the
 1544. church, or by abridging, in the smallest article,
 the liberty which they now enjoyed; but that,
 on the contrary, if he expected any support
 from them, or wished to preserve Germany from
 intestine disorders while he was engaged in a
 foreign war, he must soothe them by new con-
 cessions, and a more ample extension of their re-
 ligious privileges. He began, accordingly, with
 courting the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave
 of Hesse, the heads of the Protestant party, and
 by giving up some things in their favour, and
 granting liberal promises with regard to others,
 he secured himself from any danger of opposition
 on their part. Having ascertained this capital
 point, he then ventured to address the diet with
 greater freedom. He began by representing his
 own zeal, and unwearied efforts with regard to
 two things most essential to Christendom, the
 procuring of a general council in order to
 compose the religious dissensions which had un-
 happily arisen in Germany, and the providing
 some proper means for checking the formidable
 progress of the Turkish arms. But that his pious
 endeavours had been entirely defeated by the
 unjustifiable ambition of the French King, who
 having wantonly kindled the flame of war in
 Europe, which had been so lately extinguished
 by the truce of Nice, rendered it impossible for
 the fathers of the church to assemble in council,

The Empe-
 ror solicits
 its aid
 against
 France.

or to deliberate with security; and obliged him Book VII.
to employ those forces in his own defence, which, 1544.
with greater satisfaction to himself, as well as
more honour to Christendom, he would have
turned against the Infidels. That Francis, not
thinking it enough to have called him off from
opposing the Infidels, had, with unexampled
impiety, invited them into the heart of Christen-
dom, and, joining his arms to theirs, had openly
attacked the Duke of Savoy a member of the
Empire. That Barbarossa's fleet was now in
one of the ports of France, waiting only the re-
turn of spring to carry terror and desolation to
the coast of some Christian state. That in such
a situation it was folly to think of distant expe-
ditions against the Turk, or of marching to op-
pose his armies in Hungary, while such a power-
ful ally received him into the center of Europe,
and gave him footing there. That prudence
dictated to oppose the nearest and most immi-
nent danger, first of all, and by humbling the
power of France, to deprive Solyman of the
advantages, which he derived from the unnatu-
ral confederacy formed between him and a Mo-
narch, who still arrogated the name of Most
Christian. That, in truth, a war against the
French King and the Sultan ought to be con-
sidered as the same thing; and that every ad-
vantage gained over the former, was a severe
and sensible blow to the latter. That, there-

BOOK VII. fore, he now demanded their aid against Francis,
1544. not merely as an enemy of the Germanick body, or of him who was its head, but as an avowed ally of the Infidels, and a publick enemy to the Christian name.

IN order to give greater weight to this violent invective of the Emperor, the King of the Romans stood up, and related the rapid conquests of the Sultan in Hungary, occasioned, as he said, by the fatal necessity imposed on his brother of employing his arms against France. When he had finished, the ambassadors of Savoy gave a detail of Barbarossa's operations at Nice, and of the ravages which he had committed on that coast. All these, added to the general indignation which Francis's unprecedented union with the Turks excited in Europe, made such an impression on the diet as the Emperor wished, and disposed most of the members to grant him such effectual aid as he had demanded. The ambassadors whom Francis had sent to explain the motives of his conduct, were not permitted to enter the bounds of the Empire; and the apology which they published for their master, vindicating his alliance with Solyman, by examples drawn from scripture, and the practice of Christian princes, was little regarded by men, irritated already or prejudiced against him to such a degree, as to be incapable of allowing

their proper weight to any arguments in his be- BOOK VII.
half. 1544.

SUCH being the favourable disposition of the His vast
Germans, Charles perceived that nothing could concessions
now obstruct his gaining all that he aimed at, in order to
but the fears and jealousies of the Protestants, gain the
which he determined to quiet by granting every Protestants,
thing that the utmost sollicitude of these passions
could desire for the security of their religion.
With this view, he consented to a recess, whereby
all the rigorous edicts hitherto issued against the
Protestants were suspended; a council either
general or national to be assembled in Germany
was declared necessary, in order to re-establish
peace in the church; until one of these should
be held (which the Emperor undertook to
bring about as soon as possible), the free and
publick exercise of the Protestant religion was
authorized; the Imperial chamber was to give
no molestation to the Protestants; and when the
term, for which the present judges in that court
were elected, should expire, persons duly qua-
lified were then to be admitted as members,
without any distinction on account of religion.
In return for these extraordinary acts of indul-
gence, the Protestants concurred with the other Aid granted
members of the diet, in declaring war against by the diet,
Francis in name of the Empire; in voting the
Emperor a body of twenty-four thousand foot, and

Book VII. four thousand horse, to be maintained at the
 1544. publick expence for six months, and to be employed against France; and at the same time the diet imposed a poll-tax to be levied throughout all Germany on every person without exception, for the support of the war against the Turks.

Charles's
 negotiations
 with Denmark and
 England.

CHARLES, while he gave the greatest attention to the minute and intricate detail of particulars necessary towards conducting the deliberations of a numerous and divided assembly to such a successful period, negociated a separate peace with the King of Denmark; who, though he had hitherto performed nothing considerable in consequence of his alliance with Francis, had it in his power, however, to make a formidable diversion in favour of that monarch²³. At the same time, he did not neglect proper applications, to the King of England, in order to rouse him to more vigorous efforts against their common enemy. Little, indeed, was wanting to accomplish this; for such events had happened in Scotland as inflamed Henry to the most violent pitch of resentment against Francis. Having concluded with the parliament of Scotland a treaty of marriage between his son and their young Queen, by which he reckoned himself

²³ Dumont Corps Diplom. t. iv. p. ii. p. 274.

secure of effecting the union of the two kingdoms, which had been long desired, and often attempted without success by his predecessors, Mary of Guise the Queen-mother, cardinal Beaton, and other partisans of France, found means not only to break off the match, but to alienate the Scottish nation entirely from the friendship of England, and to strengthen its ancient attachment to France. Henry, however, did not abandon an object of so much importance; and as the humbling of Francis, besides the pleasure of taking revenge upon an enemy who had disappointed a favourite measure, appeared the most effectual method of bringing the Scots to accept once more of the treaty which they had rejected, he was so eager to accomplish this, that he was ready to second whatever the Emperor could propose to be attempted against that monarch. The plan, accordingly, which they concerted, was such, if it had been punctually executed, as must have ruined France in the first place, and would have augmented so prodigiously the Emperor's power and territories as might in the end have proved fatal to the liberties of Europe. They agreed to invade France each with an army of twenty-five thousand men, and, without losing time in besieging the frontier towns, to advance directly

BOOK VII.
1544.

BOOK VII. towards the interior provinces, and to join their
1544. forces near Paris²⁴.

The French
take the
field in
Piedmont.

Invest Ca-
rignan.

MEANWHILE, Francis stood alone in opposition to all the enemies whom Charles was mustering against him. Solyman had been the only ally who did not desert him; but the assistance which he received from him had rendered him so odious to all Christendom, that he resolved rather to forego all the advantages of his friendship, than to become, on that account, the object of general detestation. For this reason, he dismissed Barbarossa as soon as winter was over, who, after ravaging the coast of Naples and Tuscany, returned to Constantinople. As Francis could not hope to equal the forces of his rival, he endeavoured to supply that defect by dispatch, which was more in his power, and to get the start of him in taking the field. Early in the spring the count d'Enguien invested Carignan, a town in Piedmont, which the marquis del Guaſto the Imperial general having surprized the former year, considered as of so much importance, that he had fortified it at great expence. The count pushed the siege with such vigour, that Guaſto, fond of his own conquest, and seeing no other way of saving it from fall-

²⁴ Herbert, 245. Bellay, 448.

ing into the hands of the French, resolved to hazard a battle in order to relieve it. He began his march from Milan for this purpose, and as he was at no pains to conceal his intentions, it was soon known in the French camp. Enguien, a gallant and enterprising young man, wished passionately to try the fortune of a battle; his troops desired it with no less ardour; but the peremptory injunction of the King not to venture a general engagement, flowing from a prudent attention to the present situation of affairs, as well as from the remembrance of former disasters, restrained him from venturing upon it. Unwilling, however, to abandon Carignan, when it was just ready to yield, and eager to distinguish his command by some memorable action, he dispatched Monluc to court, in order to lay before the King the advantages of fighting the enemy, and the hopes which he had of victory. The King referred the matter to the council; all the ministers declared, one after another, against fighting, and supported their sentiments by reasons extremely plausible. While they were delivering their opinions, Monluc, who was permitted to be present, discovered such visible and extravagant symptoms of impatience to speak, as well as such dissatisfaction with what he heard, that Francis, diverted with his appearance, called on him to declare what he could offer in reply to sentiments which

BOOK VII. seemed to be as just as they were general. Upon
 1544. this, Monluc, a plain but spirited soldier, and
 of known courage, represented the good condi-
 tion of the troops, their eagerness to meet the
 enemy in the field, their confidence in their of-
 ficers, together with the everlasting infamy which
 the declining of a battle would bring on the
 French arms; and he urged his arguments with
 such lively impetuosity, and such a flow of mili-
 tary eloquence, as gained over to his opinion,
 not only the King, naturally fond of daring ac-
 tions, but several of the council. Francis, catch-
 ing the same enthusiasm which had animated his
 troops, suddenly started up, and having lifted
 his hands to heaven, and implored the divine
 protection, he then addressed himself to Mon-
 luc, "Go, says he, return to Piedmont, and
 fight in the name of God²⁵."

Battle of
 Cerisoles.

No sooner was it known that the King had
 given Enguien leave to fight the Imperialists,
 than such was the martial ardour of the gal-
 lant and high-spirited gentlemen of that age,
 that the court was quite deserted, every per-
 son desirous of reputation, or capable of ser-
 vice, hurrying to Piedmont, in order to share,
 as volunteers, in the danger and glory of
 the action. Encouraged by the arrival of so

²⁵ Mémoires de Monluc.

many brave officers, Enguien immediately prepared for battle, nor did Gualto decline the combat. The number of cavalry was almost equal, but the Imperial infantry exceeded the French by at least ten thousand men. They met near Cerisoles, in an open plain, which afforded to neither any advantage of ground, and both had full time to form their army in proper order. The shock was such as might have been expected between veteran troops, violent and obstinate. The French cavalry rushing forward to the charge with their usual vivacity, bore down every thing that opposed them; but, on the other hand, the steady and disciplined valour of the Spanish infantry having forced the body which they encountered to give way, victory remained in suspense, ready to declare for whichever general could make the best use of that critical moment. Gualto, engaged in that part of his army which was thrown into disorder, and afraid of falling into the hands of the French, whose vengeance he dreaded on account of the murder of Rincon and Fregoso, lost his presence of mind, and forgot to order a large body of reserve to advance; whereas Enguien, with admirable courage and equal conduct supported, at the head of his gens d'armes, such of his battalions as began to yield; and at the same time he ordered the Swiss in his service, who had been victorious wherever they fought, to fall upon the Spaniards.

Book VII.

1544.

April 11.

BOOK VII. This motion proved decisive. All that followed
 1544. was confusion and slaughter. The marquis del
 Guaſto, wounded in the thigh, eſcaped only by
 the ſwiftness of his horſe. The victory of the
 French was complete, ten thousand of the Im-
 perialists being ſlain, and a conſiderable num-
 ber, with all their tents, baggage and artillery,
 taken. On the part of the conquerors, their
 joy was without alloy, a few only being killed,
 and among theſe no officer of diſtinction²⁶.

Effects of it. THIS ſplendid action, beſide the reputation
 with which it was attended, delivered France
 from an imminent danger, as it ruined the army
 with which Guaſto had intended to invade the
 country between the Rhone and Saone, where
 there were neither fortified towns nor regular
 forces to oppoſe his progreſs. But it was not
 in Francis's power to purſue the victory with
 ſuch vigour as to reap the advantages which it
 might have yielded; for though the Milaneſe
 remained now almoſt defenceleſs; though the
 inhabitants, who had long murmured under the
 rigour of the Imperial government, were ready
 to throw off the yoke: though Enguien, flurried
 with ſucceſs, urged the King to ſeize this happy
 opportunity of recovering a country, the ac-

²⁶ Bellay, 429, &c. Mémoires de Monluc. Jovii hiſt.
 l. xliv. p. 327. 6.

quisition of which had been long his favourite object; yet, as the Emperor and King of England were preparing to break in upon the opposite frontier of France with superior force, it became necessary to sacrifice all thoughts of conquest to the public safety, and to recall twelve thousand of Enguien's best troops to be employed in defence of the kingdom. Enguien's subsequent operations were, of consequence, so languid and inconsiderable, that the reduction of Carignan and some other towns in Piedmont, was all that he gained by his great victory at Cerifoles.²⁷

Book VII.
1544.

THE Emperor, as usual, was late in taking the field, but he appeared, towards the beginning of June, at the head of an army more numerous, and better appointed than any which he had hitherto led against France. It amounted almost to fifty thousand men, and part of it having reduced Luxemburgh and some other towns in the Netherlands, before he himself joined it, he now marched with the whole towards the frontiers of Champagne. Charles, according to his agreement with the King of England, ought to have advanced directly towards Paris; and the Dauphin, who commanded the only army to which Francis trusted for the security

Operations
in the Low
Countries.

June.

²⁷ Bellay, 438, &c.

BOOK VII. of his dominions, was in no condition to oppose
 1544. him. But the success with which the French
 had defended Provence in the year one thousand
 five hundred and thirty-six, had taught them
 the most effectual method of distressing an in-
 vading enemy. Champagne, a country abound-
 ing more in vines than corn, was incapable of
 maintaining a great army; and before the Em-
 peror's approach, whatever could be of any use
 to him had been carried off or destroyed. This
 rendered it necessary for him to be master of
 some places of strength, in order to secure the
 convoys on which alone he now perceived that
 he must depend for subsistence; and he found
 the frontier towns so ill provided for defence,
 that he hoped it would not be a work either of
 much time or difficulty to reduce them. Ac-
 cordingly Ligny and Commercy, which he first
 attacked, surrendered after a short resistance.
 He then invested St. Dizier, which, though it
 commanded an important pass on the Marne,
 was destitute of every thing necessary for sustain-
 ing a siege. But the count de Sancerre and M.
 De la Lande, who had acquired such reputa-
 tion by the defence of Landrecy, generously
 threw themselves into the town, and undertook
 to hold it out to the last extremity. The Em-
 peror soon found how capable they were of mak-
 ing good their promise, and that he could not
 expect to take the town without besieging it in

The Empe-
 ror invests
 St. Dizier.
 July 8.

form. This accordingly he undertook ; and as Book VII. it was his nature never to abandon any enterprize 1544. in which he had once engaged, he persisted in it with an inconsiderate obstinacy.

THE King of England's preparations for the campaign were complete long before the Em- Henry VIII. invests Bo-
peror's; but as he did not choose, on the one logne.
hand, to encounter alone the whole power of France, and was unwilling, on the other, that his troops should remain inactive, he took that opportunity of chastising the Scots, by sending his fleet, together with a considerable part of his infantry, under the earl of Hertford, to invade their country. Hertford executed his commission with vigour, plundered and burnt Edinburgh and Leith, laid waste the adjacent country, and reembarked his men with such dispatch, that they joined their sovereign soon after his landing in France. When Henry arrived in that kingdom, he found the Emperor engaged in the siege of St. Dizier; an ambassador, however, whom he sent to congratulate the English Monarch on his safe arrival on the continent, solicited him to march, in terms of the treaty, directly to Paris. But Charles had set his ally such an ill example of fulfilling the conditions of their confederacy with exactness, that Henry, observing him employ his time and forces in taking towns for his own behoof, saw no reason why

July 14.

BOOK VII. he should not attempt the reduction of some
 1544. places that lay conveniently for himself. Without paying any regard to the Emperor's remonstrances, he immediately invested Bologne, and commanded the Duke of Norfolk to press the siege of Montreuil, which had been begun before his arrival, by a body of Flemings, in conjunction with some English troops. While Charles and Henry shewed such attention each to his own interest, they both neglected the common cause. Instead of the union and confidence requisite towards conducting the great plan that they had formed, they early discovered a mutual jealousy of each other, which, by degrees, begot distrust, and ended in open hatred²⁸.

Gallant defence of St. Disier.

By this time, Francis had, with unwearied industry, drawn together an army, capable, as well from the number as from the valour of the troops, of making head against the enemy. But the Dauphin, who still acted as general, prudently declining a battle, the loss of which would have endangered the kingdom, satisfied himself, with harassing the Emperor with his light troops, cutting off his convoys, and laying waste the country around him. Though extremely distressed by these operations, Charles still pressed the siege of St. Disier, which Sancerre defended with astonishing fortitude and

²⁸ Herbert.

conduct. He stood repeated assaults, repulsing the enemy in them all; and undismayed even by the death of the brave De la Lande, who was killed by a cannon-ball, he continued to shew the same bold countenance and obstinate resolution. At the end of five weeks, he was still capable of holding out some time longer, when an artifice of Granville's induced him to surrender. That crafty politician, having intercepted the key to the cypher which the Duke of Guise used in communicating intelligence to Sancerre, forged a letter in his name, authorizing Sancerre to capitulate, as the King, though highly satisfied with his behaviour, thought it imprudent to hazard a battle for his relief. This letter he conveyed into the town in a manner which could raise no suspicion, and the governor fell into the snare. Even then, he obtained such honourable conditions as his gallant defence merited, and among others a cessation of hostilities for eight days, at the expiration of which he bound himself to open the gates, if Francis, during that time, did not attack the Imperial army, and throw fresh troops into the town²⁹. Thus Sancerre, by detaining the Emperor so long before an inconsiderable place, afforded his sovereign full time to assemble all his forces, and, what rarely falls to the lot of an officer in such

²⁹ Brantome, tom. vi. 489.

BOOK VII. an inferior command, acquired the glory of
1544. having saved his country.

August 17.
The Empe-
ror pene-
trates into
the heart of
France.

As soon as St. Dizier surrendered, the Emperor advanced into the heart of Champagne, but Sancerre's obstinate resistance had damped his sanguine hopes of penetrating to Paris, and led him seriously to reflect on what he might expect before towns of greater strength, and defended by more numerous garrisons. At the same time, the procuring subsistence for his army was attended with great difficulty, which increased in proportion as he withdrew from his own frontier. He had lost a great number of his best troops in the siege of St. Dizier, and many fell daily in skirmishes, which it was not in his power to avoid, though they wasted his army insensibly, without leading to any decisive action. The season advanced apace, and he had not yet the command either of a sufficient extent of territory, or of any such considerable town as rendered it safe to winter in the enemy's country. Great arrears too were due to his soldiers, who were upon the point of mutiny for their pay, while he knew not from what funds to satisfy them. All these considerations induced him to listen to the overtures of peace, which a Spanish Dominican, the confessor of his sister the Queen of France, had secretly made to his confessor, a monk of the same order. In consequence of this,

plenipotentiaries were named on both sides, and BOOK VII.
began their conferences in Chaussé, a small vil- 1544.
lage near Chalons. At the same time, Charles,
either from a desire of making one great final
effort against France, or merely to gain a pre-
text for deserting his ally and concluding a se-
parate peace, sent an ambassador formally to
require Henry, according to the stipulation in
their treaty, to advance towards Paris. While
he expected a return from him, and waited the
issue of the conferences at Chaussé, he continued
to march forward, though in the utmost distress
from scarcity of provisions. But at last, by a
fortunate motion on his part, or through some
neglect or treachery on that of the French, he
surprised first Espernay and then Chateau
Thierry, in both which were considerable maga-
zines. No sooner was it known that these towns,
the latter of which is not two days march from
Paris, were in the hands of the enemy, than
that great capital, defenceless, and susceptible
of any violent alarm in proportion to its great-
ness, was filled with consternation. The in-
habitants, as if the Emperor had been already
at their gates, fled in the wildest confusion and
despair, many sending their wives and children
down the Seine to Rouen, others to Orleans,
and the towns upon the Loire. Francis himself,
more afflicted with this than with any other
event during his reign, and sensible as well of

BOOK VII. the triumph that his rival would enjoy in insult-
 1544. ing his capital, as of the danger to which the kingdom was exposed, could not refrain from crying out, in the first emotion of his surprise and sorrow, "How dear, O my God, do I pay for this crown, which I thought thou hadst granted me freely³⁰!" But recovering in a moment from this sudden fall of peevishness and impatience, he devoutly added, "Thy will, however, be done;" and proceeded to issue the necessary orders for opposing the enemy with his usual activity and presence of mind. The Dauphin detached eight thousand men to Paris, which revived the courage of the affrighted citizens; he threw a strong garrison into Meaux, and by a forced march got into Ferté, between the Imperialists and the capital.

Obliged to
retire.

UPON this, the Emperor, who began again to feel the want of provisions, perceiving that the Dauphin still prudently declined a battle, and not daring to attack his camp with forces so much shattered and reduced by hard service, turned suddenly to the right, and began to fall back towards Soissons. Having about this time received Henry's answer, whereby he refused to abandon the sieges of Bologne and Montreuil, of both which he expected every moment to get

³⁰ Brantome, tom. vi. 381.

possession, he thought himself absolved from all obligations of adhering to the treaty with him, and at full liberty to consult his own interest in what manner soever he pleased. He consented, therefore, to renew the conference, which the surprise of Espernay had broken off. To conclude a peace between two Princes, one of whom greatly desired, and the other greatly needed it, did not require a long negociation. It was signed at Crespy, a small town near Meaux, on the eighteenth of September. The chief articles of it were, That all the conquests which either party had made since the truce of Nice shall be restored; That the Emperor shall give in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, either his own eldest daughter, or the second daughter of his brother Ferdinand; That if he chose to bestow on him his own daughter, he shall settle on her all the provinces of the Low Countries, to be erected into an independent state, which shall descend to the male issue of the marriage; That if he determined to give him his niece, he shall, with her, grant him the investiture of Milan and its dependencies; That he shall within four months declare which of these two Princesses he had pitched upon, and fulfil the respective conditions upon the consummation of the marriage, which shall take place within a year from the date of the treaty; That as soon as the Duke of Orleans is put in possession either of the Low

BOOK VII.

1544.

Peace be-
tween him
and Francis
concluded
at Crespy.

BOOK VII. Countries or of Milan, Francis shall restore to
 1544. the Duke of Savoy all that he now possesses of
 his territories, except Pignerol and Montmilian;
 That Francis shall renounce all pretensions to the
 kingdom of Naples, or to the sovereignty of
 Flanders and Artois, and Charles shall give up
 his claim to the dutchy of Burgundy and county
 of Charolois; That Francis shall give no aid to
 the exiled King of Navarre; That both Mo-
 narchs shall join in making war upon the Turk,
 towards which the King shall furnish, when re-
 quired by the Emperor and Empire, six hundred
 men at arms, and ten thousand foot ³¹.

Motives of
 concluding
 it.

BESIDES the immediate motives to this peace,
 arising from the distress of his army through
 want of provisions; from the difficulty of re-
 treating out of France; and the impossibility of
 securing winter-quarters there; the Emperor
 was influenced by other considerations, more
 distant, indeed, but not less weighty. The Pope
 was offended to a great degree, as well at his
 concessions to the Protestants in the late diet, as
 at his consenting to call a council, and to admit
 of publick disputations in Germany, with a view
 of determining the doctrines in controversy. Paul
 considering both these steps as sacrilegious en-

³¹ Recueil des Traitez, t. i. 227. Belius de Causis Pacis
 Crepiac. in Actis Erudit. Lips. 1763.

croachments on the jurisdiction as well as privileges of the Holy See, had addressed to the Emperor a remonstrance rather than a letter on this subject, written with such acrimony of language, and in a style of such high authority, as discovered more of an intention to draw on a quarrel than of a desire to reclaim him. This ill humour was not a little inflamed by the Emperor's league with Henry, which being contracted with an heretick, excommunicated by the apostolick see, appeared to the Pope a profane alliance, and was not less dreaded by him, than that of Francis with Solyman. Paul's son and grandson, highly incensed at the Emperor for having refused to gratify them with regard to the alienation of Parma and Placentia, contributed by their suggestions to sour and disgust him still more. To all which was added the powerful operation of the flattery and promises which Francis incessantly employed to gain him. Though from his desire of maintaining a neutrality, the Pope had hitherto suppressed his own resentment, had eluded the artifices of his own family, and resisted the sollicitations of the French King, it was not safe to rely much on the steadiness of a man whom his passions, his friends, and his interest combined to shake. The union of the Pope with France, Charles well knew, would instantly expose his dominions in Italy to be attacked. The Venetians

BOOK VII. he foresaw, would probably follow the example
 1544. of a Pontiff, who was considered as a model of political wisdom among the Italians; and thus, at a juncture when he felt himself hardly equal to the burden of the present war, he would be overwhelmed with the weight of a new confederacy against him³². At the same time, the Turks, almost unresisted, made such progress in Hungary, reducing town after town, that they approached near to the confines of the Austrian provinces³³. Above all these, the extraordinary progress of the Protestant doctrines in Germany, and the dangerous combination into which the Princes of that profession had entered, called for his immediate attention. Almost one half of Germany had revolted from the established church; the fidelity of the rest was much shaken; the nobility of Austria had demanded of Ferdinand the free exercise of religion³⁴; the Bohemians, among whom some seeds of the doctrines of Huss still remained, openly favoured the new opinions; the archbishop of Cologne, with a zeal rare among ecclesiastics, had begun the reformation of his diocese; nor was it possible, unless some timely and effectual check were given to the spirit of innovation, to foresee where it would end. He him-

³² F. Paul, 100. Pallavic. 163.

³³ Istuanhaffii Hist. Hung. 177.

³⁴ Sleid. 285.

self had been a witness, in the late diet, to the peremptory and decisive tone which the Protestants had now assumed. He had seen how, from confidence in their number, and union, they had forgotten the humble style of their first petitions, having grown to such boldness as openly to despise the Pope, and to shew no great reverence for the Imperial dignity itself. If, therefore, he wished to maintain either the ancient religion or his own authority, and would not choose to dwindle into a mere nominal head of the Empire, some vigorous effort was requisite, which could not be made during a war that required the greatest exertion of his strength against a foreign and powerful enemy.

Book VII.

1544.

SUCH being the Emperor's inducements to peace, he had the address to frame the treaty of Crespy so as to promote all the ends which he had in view. By coming to an agreement with Francis, he took from the Pope all prospect of advantage in courting the friendship of that Monarch in preference to his. By the proviso with regard to a war with the Turks, he not only deprived Solyman of a powerful ally, but turned the arms of that ally against him. By a private article, not inserted in the treaty that it might not raise any unseasonable alarm, he agreed with Francis that both should exert all their influence and power in order to procure a

BOOK VII. general council, to assert its authority, and to
 1544. exterminate the Protestant heresy out of their dominions. This cut off all hope of assistance which the confederates of Smalkalde might expect from the French King³⁵; and lest their solicitations, or his jealousy of an ancient rival, should hereafter tempt Francis to forget this engagement, he left him embarrassed with a war against England, which would put it out of his power to take any part in the affairs of Germany.

War continues between France and England.

Sept. 14.

HENRY, possessed at all times with an high idea of his own power and importance, felt, in the most sensible manner, the neglect with which the Emperor had treated him in concluding a separate peace. But the situation of his affairs was such as somewhat alleviated the mortification which this occasioned. For though he was obliged to recall the Duke of Norfolk from the siege of Montreuil, because the Flemish troops received orders to retire, Bologne had surrendered before the negociations at Crespy were brought to an issue. While elated with vanity on account of this conquest, and inflamed with indignation against the Emperor, the ambassadors whom Francis sent to make overtures of peace, found him too arrogant to grant what was

³⁵ Seck. l. iii. 496.

moderate or equitable. His demands were indeed extravagant, and made in the tone of a conqueror; that Francis should renounce his alliance with Scotland, and not only pay up the arrears of former debts, but reimburse the money which he had expended in the present war. Francis, though sincerely desirous of peace, and willing to yield a great deal in order to obtain it, being now free from the pressure of the Imperial arms, rejected these ignominious propositions with disdain; and Henry departing for England, hostilities continued between the two nations ³⁶.

BOOK VII.

1544-

THE treaty of peace, how acceptable soever to the people of France, whom it delivered from the dread of an enemy who had penetrated into the heart of the kingdom, was loudly complained of by the Dauphin. He considered it as a manifest proof of the King his father's extraordinary partiality towards his younger brother, now Duke of Orleans, and complained that from his eagerness to gain an establishment for a favourite son, he had sacrificed the honour of the kingdom, and renounced the most ancient as well as valuable rights of the crown. But as he durst not venture to offend the King by refusing to ratify it, though extremely desirous at

The dauphin dissatisfied with the peace of Crefpy.

³⁶ Mém. de Ribier, t. i. p. 572. Herbert, 244.

BOOK VII. the same time of securing to himself the privilege of reclaiming what was now alienated so much to his detriment, he secretly protested, in presence of some of his adherents, against the whole transaction; and declared whatever he should be obliged to do in order to confirm it, null in itself, and void of all obligation. The parliament of Thoulouse, probably by the instigation of his partisans, did the same³⁷: But Francis, highly pleased as well with having delivered his subjects from the miseries of an invasion, as with the prospect of acquiring an independent settlement for his son at no greater price than the renouncing conquests to which he had no just claim; titles which had hitherto proved the source of expence or disasters to the nation; and rights grown obsolete and of no value; ratified the treaty with great joy. Charles, within the time prescribed by the treaty, declared his intention of giving Ferdinand's daughter in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, together with the dutchy of Milan as her dowry³⁸. Every circumstance seemed to promise the continuance of peace. The Emperor, cruelly afflicted with the gout, appeared to be in no condition to undertake any enterprise where great activity was requisite, or much fatigue to be endured. He

³⁷ Recueil des Traités, t. ii. 235. 238.

³⁸ Recueil des Traités, t. ii. 238.

himself felt this, or wished at least that it should be believed; and being so much disabled by this excruciating distemper, when a French ambassador followed him to Brussels, in order to be present at his ratification of the treaty of peace, that it was with the utmost difficulty he signed his name, he observed, that there was no great danger of his violating these articles, as a hand that could hardly hold a pen, was little able to brandish a lance. Book VII.
1544.

THE violence of his disease confined the Emperor several months in Brussels, and was the apparent cause of putting off the execution of the vast schemes which he had formed in order to humble the Protestant party in Germany. But there were other reasons for this delay. For, however prevalent the motives were which determined him to undertake this enterprise, the nature of that great body which he was about to attack, as well as the situation of his own affairs, made it necessary to deliberate long, to proceed with caution, and not too suddenly to throw aside the veil under which he had hitherto concealed his real sentiments and schemes. He was sensible that the Protestants, conscious of their own strength, but under continual apprehensions of his designs, had all the boldness of a powerful party joined to the jealousy of a

The Em-
peror's
schemes
with respect
to Ger-
many.

BOOK VII. feeble faction; and were no less quick-sighted
 1544. to discern the first appearance of danger, than
 ready to take arms in order to repel it. At the
 same time, he continued involved in a Turkish
 war; and though, in order to deliver himself
 from this incumbrance, he had determined to
 send an envoy to the Porte with most advantage-
 ous and even submissive overtures of peace, the
 resolutions of that haughty court were so uncer-
 tain, that before these were known, it would
 have been highly imprudent to have kindled
 the flames of civil war in his own domini-
 ons.

The Pope
 summons a
 general
 council to
 meet at
 Trent.
 Nov. 19.

UPON this account, he appeared dissatisfied
 with a bull issued by the Pope immediately after
 the peace of Crespy, summoning the council to
 assemble at Trent early next spring, and exhort-
 ing all Christian Princes to embrace the oppor-
 tunity that the present happy interval of tran-
 quillity afforded them, of suppressing those he-
 resies which threatened to subvert whatever was
 sacred or venerable among Christians. But after
 such a slight expression of dislike, as was neces-
 sary in order to cover his designs, he determined
 to countenance the council, which might be-
 come no inconsiderable instrument towards ac-
 complishing his projects, and therefore not only
 appointed ambassadors to appear there in his

name, but ordered the ecclesiasticks in his domi- Book VII.
nions to attend at the time prefixed ³⁹. 1545.

SUCH were the Emperor's views, when the Diet at
Imperial diet, after several prorogations, was Worms.
opened at Worms. The Protestants, who en- March 24.
joyed the free exercise of their religion by a very
precarious tenure, having no other security for
it than the recess of the last diet, which was to
continue in force only until the meeting of a
council, wished earnestly to establish that im-
portant privilege upon some firmer basis, and
to hold it by a perpetual not a temporary title.
But, instead of offering them any additional se-
curity, Ferdinand opened the diet with observ-
ing, that there were two points chiefly, which
required consideration, the prosecution of the
war against the Turks, and the state of religion;
that the former was the most urgent, as Soly-
man, after conquering the greatest part of Hun-
gary, was now ready to fall upon the Austrian
provinces; that the Emperor, who, from the
beginning of his reign, had neglected no oppor-
tunity of annoying this formidable enemy, and
with the hazard of his own person had resisted
his attacks, being animated still with the same
zeal, had now consented to stop short in the
career of his success against France, that, in

³⁹ F. Paul, 104.

BOOK VII. conjunction with his ancient rival, he might
 1545. turn his arms with greater vigour against the
 common adversary of the Christian faith; that
 it became all the members of the Empire to se-
 cond those pious endeavours of its head; that,
 therefore, they ought, without delay, to vote
 him such effectual aid as not only their duty but
 their interest called upon them to furnish; that
 the controversies about religion were so intricate,
 and of such difficult discussion, as to give no
 hope of its being possible to bring them at pre-
 sent to any final issue; that by perseverance and
 repeated sollicitations the Emperor had at length
 prevailed on the Pope to call a council, for
 which they had so often wished and petitioned;
 that the time appointed for its meeting was now
 come, and both parties ought to wait for its de-
 crees, and submit to them as the decisions of the
 universal church.

Ferdinand
 requires the
 Germans to
 acknow-
 ledge the
 council.

THE popish members of the diet received this
 declaration with great applause, and signified
 their entire acquiescence in every particular
 which it contained. The Protestants expressed
 great surprise at propositions, which were so
 manifestly repugnant to the recesses of the former
 diet; they insisted that the questions with regard
 to religion, as first in dignity and importance,
 ought to come first under deliberation; that,
 alarming as the progress of the Turks was to all

Germany, the securing the free exercise of their religion touched them still more nearly, nor could they prosecute a foreign war with spirit, while solicitous and concerned about their domestick tranquillity; that if the latter were once rendered firm and permanent, they would concur with their countrymen in pushing the former, and yield to none of them in activity or zeal. But if the danger from the Turkish arms was indeed so imminent, as not to admit of such a delay as would be occasioned by an immediate examination of the controverted points in religion, they required that a diet should be instantly appointed, to which the final settlement of their religious disputes should be referred; and that in the mean time the decree of the former diet concerning religion should be explained in a point which they deemed essential. By the recess of Spires it was provided, that they should enjoy unmolested the publick exercise of their religion, until the meeting of a legal council; but as the Pope had now called a council, to which Ferdinand had required them to submit, they began to suspect that their adversaries might take advantage of an ambiguity in the terms of the recess, and pretending that the event therein mentioned had taken place, might pronounce them to be no longer entitled to the same indulgence. In order to guard against this interpretation, they renewed their former remonstrances

Book VII.

1545.

BOOK VII. against a council called to meet without the
 1545. bounds of the Empire, summoned by the Pope's authority, and in which he assumed the right of presiding; and declared that, notwithstanding the convocation of any such illegal assembly, they still held the recess of the late diet to be in full force.

Emperor ar-
 rives at
 Worms.

AT other junctures, when the Emperor thought it of advantage to soothe and gain the Protestants, he had devised expedients for giving them satisfaction with regard to demands seemingly more extravagant; but his views at present being very different, Ferdinand by his command adhered inflexibly to his first propositions, and would make no concessions which had the most remote tendency to throw discredit on the council, or to weaken its authority. The Protestants, on their part, were no less inflexible; and, after much time spent in fruitless endeavours to convince each other, they came to no conclusion. Nor did the presence of the Emperor, who upon his recovery arrived at
 May 15. Worms, contribute in any degree to render the Protestants more compliant. Fully convinced that they were maintaining the cause of God and of truth, they shewed themselves superior to the allurements of interest, or the suggestions of fear; and in proportion as the Emperor redoubled his solicitations, or discovered his de-

signs, their boldness seems to have increased. BOOK VII.
At last they openly declared, that they would 1545.
not even deign to vindicate their tenets in pre- The Protef-
sence of a council, assembled not to examine, tants dis-
but to condemn them; and that they would pay claim all
no regard to an assembly held under the influence connexion
of a Pope, who had already precluded himself with the
from all title to act as a judge, by his having council of
stigmatized their opinions with the name of he- Trent.
refy and denounced against them the heaviest
censures, which, in the plenitude of his usurped
power, he could inflict⁴⁰.

WHILE the Protestants, with such union as Conduct of
well as firmness, rejected all intercourse with the Maurice of
council, and refused their assent to the Imperial Saxony in
demands in respect to the Turkish war, Mau- this diet.
rice of Saxony alone shewed an inclination to
gratify the Emperor with regard to both.
Though he professed an inviolable regard for
the Protestant religion, he assumed an appear-
ance of moderation peculiar to himself, by which
he confirmed the favourable sentiments which the
Emperor already entertained of him, and gra-
dually paved the way for executing the ambi-
tious designs which always occupied his active
and enterprising mind⁴¹. His example, how-

⁴⁰ Sleid. 343, &c. Seck. iii. 543, &c. Thuan. Histor.
lib. ii. p. 56.

⁴¹ Seck. iii. 571.

BOOK VII. ever, had little influence upon such as agreed
 1545. with him in their religious opinions; and Charles
 perceived that he could not hope either to procure
 present aid from the Protestants against the
 Turks, or to quiet their fears and jealousies on
 account of their religion. But as his schemes
 were not yet ripe for execution, nor his preparations
 so far advanced that he could force their
 compliance, or punish their obstinacy, he art-
 August 4. fully concealed his own intentions. That he
 might augment their security, he appointed a
 diet to be held at Ratisbon early next year, in
 order to adjust what was now left undetermined;
 and previous to it, he agreed that a certain number
 of divines of each party should meet, in
 order to confer upon the points in dispute⁴².

The Protestants begin
 to suspect
 the Emperor.

BUT how far soever this appearance of a desire to maintain the present tranquillity might have imposed upon the Protestants, the Emperor was incapable of such uniform and thorough dissimulation, as to hide altogether from their view the dangerous designs which he was meditating against them. Herman count de Wied, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, a prelate conspicuous for his virtue and primitive simplicity of manners, though not more distinguished for learning than the other descendants of noble families, who in that age possessed most of the

⁴² Sleid. 351.

great benefices in Germany, having become a profelyte to the doctrines of the Reformers, had begun in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-three, with the assistance of Melancthon and Bucer, to abolish the ancient superstition in his diocese, and to introduce in its place the rites established among the Protestants. But the canons of his cathedral, who were not possessed with the same spirit of innovation, and who foresaw how fatal the levelling genius of the new sect would prove to their dignity and wealth, opposed, from the beginning, this unprecedented enterprize of their Archbishop with all the zeal flowing from reverence for old institutions, heightened by concern for their own interest. This opposition, which the Archbishop considered only as a new argument to demonstrate the necessity of a reformation, neither shook his resolution nor slackened his ardour in prosecuting his plan. The canons, perceiving all their endeavours to check his career to be ineffectual, solemnly protested against his proceedings, and appealed for redress to the Pope and Emperor, the former as his ecclesiastical, the latter as his civil superior. This appeal being laid before the Emperor, during his residence in Worms, he took the canons of Cologne under his immediate protection; enjoined them to proceed with rigour against all who revolted from the established church; prohibited the Archbishop to

Book VII.
1545.

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BOOK VII. make any innovation in his diocese; and summoned him to appear at Brussels within thirty days, to answer the accusations which should be preferred against him⁴³.

To this clear evidence of his hostile intentions against the Protestant party, Charles added other proofs still more explicit. In his hereditary dominions of the Low Countries, he persecuted all who were suspected of Lutheranism with unrelenting rigour. As soon as he arrived at Worms, he silenced the Protestant preachers in that city. He allowed an Italian monk to inveigh against the Lutherans from the pulpit of his chapel, and to call upon him, as he regarded the favour of God, to exterminate that pestilent heresy. He dispatched the embassy, which has been already mentioned, to Constantinople, with overtures of peace, that he might be free from any apprehensions of danger or interruption from that quarter. Nor did any of these steps, or their dangerous tendency, escape the jealous observation of the Protestants, or fail to alarm their fears, and to excite their solicitude for the safety of their sect.

Death of the
Duke of
Orleans.

MEANWHILE, Charles's good fortune, which predominated on all occasions over that of his

⁴³ Sleid. 310. 340. 351. Seckend. iii. 443. 553.

rival Francis, extricated him out of a difficulty, from which, with all his sagacity and address, he would have found it no easy matter to have disentangled himself. Just about the time when the Duke of Orleans should have received Ferdinand's daughter in marriage, and together with her the possession of the Milanese, he died of a pestilential fever. By this event, the Emperor was freed from the necessity of giving up an important province into the hands of an enemy, or from the indecency of violating a recent and solemn engagement, which must have occasioned an immediate rupture with France. He affected, however, to express great sorrow for the untimely death of a young Prince, who was to have been so nearly allied to him; but he carefully avoided entering into any fresh discussions concerning the Milanese; and would not listen to a proposal which came from Francis of new-modelling the treaty of Crespy, so as to make him some reparation for the advantages which he had lost by the demise of his son. In the more active and vigorous part of Francis's reign, a declaration of war would have been the certain and instantaneous consequence of such a flat refusal to comply with a demand seemingly so equitable; but the declining state of his own health, the exhausted condition of his kingdoms, together with the burden of the war against England, obliged him, at present, to dissemble,

Book VII.

1545.

Sept. 8.

BOOK VII. his resentment, and to put off thoughts of re-
 1545. venge to some other juncture. In consequence
 of this event, the unfortunate Duke of Savoy
 lost all hope of obtaining the restitution of his
 territories; and the rights or claims relinquished
 by the treaty of Crespy, returned in full force
 to the crown of France, to serve as pretexts for
 future wars⁴⁴.

The Pope
 grants the
 duchies of
 Parma and
 Placentia
 to his son.

UPON the first intelligence of the Duke of
 Orleans's death, the confederates of Smalkalde
 flattered themselves that the essential alterations
 which it occasioned could hardly fail of pro-
 ducing a rupture, which would prove the means
 of their safety. But they were not more disap-
 pointed with regard to this, than in their ex-
 pectations from an event which seemed to be the
 certain prelude of a quarrel between the Empe-
 ror and the Pope. When Paul, whose passion
 for aggrandizing his family, increased as he ad-
 vanced in years, and as he saw the dignity and
 power which they derived immediately from him
 becoming more precarious, found that he could
 not bring Charles to approve of his ambitious
 schemes, he ventured to grant his son Peter
 Lewis the investiture of Parma and Placentia,
 though at the risk of incurring the displeasure
 of the Emperor. At a time when a great part

⁴⁴ Belcarii Comment. 769. Paruta, Hist. Venet. iv. p. 177.
 of

of Europe inveighed openly against the corrupt Book VII.
manners and exorbitant power of Ecclesiasticks, 1545.
and when a council was summoned to reform the
disorders in the church, this indecent grant of
such a principality, to a son of whose illegitimate
birth the Pope ought to have been ashamed, and
whose licentious morals all good men detested,
gave general offence. Some Cardinals in the
Imperial interest remonstrated against such an
unbecoming alienation of the patrimony of the
church; the Spanish ambassador would not be
present at the solemnity of his infeofment; and
upon pretext that these cities were part of the
Milanese state, the Emperor peremptorily re-
fused to confirm the deed of investiture. But
both the Emperor and Pope being intent upon
one common object in Germany, sacrificed their
particular passions to that publick cause, and sup-
pressed the emotions of jealousy or resentment
which were rising on this occasion, that they
might jointly pursue what each esteemed of
greater importance⁴⁵.

ABOUT this time the peace of Germany was Henry of
disturbed by a violent but short eruption of Brunswick
Henry Duke of Brunswick. This Prince, kindles a
though still stript of his dominions, which the war in Ger-
Emperor held in sequestration, until his differ- many.

⁴⁵ Paruta, Hist. Venet. iv. 178. Pallavic. 180.

BOOK VII.

1545.

ences with the confederates of Smalkalde should be adjusted, possessed however so much credit in Germany, that he undertook to raise for the French King a considerable body of troops to be employed in the war against England. The money stipulated for this purpose was duly advanced by Francis; the troops were levied; but Henry, instead of leading them towards France, suddenly entered his own dominions at their head, in hopes of recovering them before any army could be assembled to oppose him. The confederates were not more surprised at this unexpected attack, than the King of France was astonished at a mean thievish fraud, so unbecoming the character of a Prince. But the Landgrave of Hesse, with incredible expedition, collected as many men as put a stop to the progress of Henry's undisciplined forces, and being joined by his son-in-law Maurice, and by some troops belonging to the Elector of Saxony, he gained such advantages over Henry, who was rash and bold in forming his schemes, but feeble and undetermined in executing them, as obliged him to disband his army, and to surrender himself, together with his eldest son, prisoners at discretion. He was kept in close confinement, until a new reverse of affairs procured him liberty⁴⁶.

⁴⁶ Sleid. 352. Seck. iii. 567.

As this defeat of Henry's wild enterprize add- BOOK VII.
 ed new reputation to the arms of the Protest 1546.
 ants, the Reformation of the Palatinate brought The Reforma-
 a great accession of strength to their party. tion of
 Frederick, who succeeded his brother Lewis in the Palati-
 that Electorate, had long been suspected of a nate.
 secret propensity to the doctrines of the Re-
 formers, which, upon his accession to the prin-
 cipality, he openly manifested. But as he ex-
 pected that something effectual towards a gene-
 ral and legal establishment of religion, would be
 the fruit of so many diets, conferences, and ne-
 gociations, he did not, at first, attempt any pub-
 lick innovation in his dominions. Finding all Jan. 10,
 these issue in nothing, he thought himself called,
 at length, to countenance by his authority the
 system which he approved of, and to gratify the
 wishes of his subjects, who, by their intercourse
 with the Protestant states, had universally im-
 bibed their opinions. As the warmth and im-
 petuosity which accompanied the spirit of Re-
 formation in its first efforts, had somewhat abated,
 this change was made with great order and re-
 gularity; the ancient rites were abolished, and
 new forms introduced, without any act of vio-
 lence, or symptom of discontent. Though
 Frederick adopted the religious system of the
 Protestants, he imitated the example of Mau-

BOOK VII. rice, and did not accede to the league of Smal-
1546. kalde⁴⁷.

The council
assembles at
Trent.

A FEW weeks before this revolution in the Palatinate, the general council was opened with the accustomed solemnities at Trent. The eyes of the Catholick states were turned with much expectation towards an assembly, which all had considered as a natural and adequate remedy for the disorders of the church when they first broke out, though many were afraid that it was now too late to hope for great benefit from it, when the malady, by being suffered to make progress during twenty-eight years, had become inveterate, and grown to such extreme violence. The Pope, by his last bull of convocation, had appointed the first meeting to be held in March. But his views, and those of the Emperor, were so different, that almost the whole year was spent in negociations. Charles, who foresaw that the rigorous decrees of the council against the Protestants would soon drive them, in self-defence as well as from resentment, to some desperate extreme, laboured to put off its meeting until his warlike preparations were so far advanced, that he might be in a condition to second its decisions by the force of his arms. The Pope,

⁴⁷ Sleid. 356. Seck. l. iii. 616.

who had early sent to Trent the legates who were to preside in his name, knowing to what contempt it would expose his authority, and what suspicions it would beget of his intentions, if the fathers of the council should remain in a state of inactivity, when the church was in such danger as to require their immediate and vigorous interposition, insisted either upon translating the council to some city in Italy, or upon suspending altogether its proceedings at that juncture, or upon authorizing it to begin its deliberations immediately. The Emperor rejected the two former as equally offensive to the Germans of every denomination, but finding it impossible to elude the latter, he proposed that the council should begin with reforming the disorders in the church, before it proceeded to examine or define articles of faith. This was the very thing which the court of Rome dreaded most, and which had prompted it to employ so many artifices in order to prevent the meeting of such a dangerous judicatory. Paul, though more compliant than some of his predecessors with regard to calling a council, was no less jealous than they had been of its jurisdiction, and saw what matter of triumph, such a method of proceeding would afford the hereticks. He apprehended consequences not only humbling but fatal to the papal see, if the council came to consider an inquest into abuses as their only business; or if

BOOK VII. inferior prelates were allowed to gratify their
 1546. own envy and peevishness, by prescribing rules to those who were exalted above them in dignity and power. Without listening, therefore, to this insidious proposal of the Emperor, he instructed his legates to open the council.

Jan. 18.

Its proceed-
 ings.

THE first session was spent in matters of form. In a subsequent one, it was agreed that the framing a confession of faith, wherein should be contained all the articles which the church required its members to believe, ought to be the first and principal business of the council; but that, at the same time, due attention should be given to what was necessary towards the reformation of manners and discipline. From this first symptom of the spirit with which the council was animated, from the high tone of authority which the legates who presided in it assumed, and from the implicit deference with which most of the members followed their directions, the Protestants conjectured with ease what decisions they might expect. It astonished them, however, to see forty prelates (for no greater number were yet assembled) assume authority as representatives of the universal church, and proceed to determine the most important points of doctrine in its name. Sensible of this indecency, as well as of the ridicule with which it might be attended, the council advanced slowly in its deliberations,

and all its proceedings were for some time languishing and feeble ⁴⁸. As soon as the confederates of Smalkalde received information of the opening of the council, they published a long manifesto, containing a renewal of their protest against its meeting, together with the reasons which induced them to decline its jurisdiction ⁴⁹. The Pope and Emperor, on their part, were so little sollicitous to quicken or add vigour to its operations, as plainly discovered that some object of greater importance occupied and interested them.

Book VII.

1546.

THE Protestants, as they were not inattentive, or unconcerned spectators of their motions, entertained every day more violent suspicions of their intentions, and received intelligence from different quarters of the machinations carrying on against them. The King of England informed them, that the Emperor having long resolved to exterminate their opinions, would not fail to employ this interval of tranquillity which he now enjoyed, as the most favourable juncture for carrying his design into execution. The merchants of Augsburgh, which was at that time a city of extensive trade, received advice, by means of their correspondents in Italy, among

Apprehensions of the Protestants.

⁴⁸ F. Paul, 120, &c. Pallavic. p. 180, &c.

⁴⁹ Seckend. l. iii. 602, &c.

BOOK VII. whom were some who secretly favoured the
 1546. Protestant cause⁵⁰, that a dangerous confederacy
 against it was forming between the Pope and
 Emperor. In confirmation of this, they heard
 from the Low Countries that Charles had issued
 orders, though with every precaution which
 could keep the measure concealed, for raising
 troops both there and in other parts of his do-
 minions. Such a variety of information, corro-
 borating all that their own jealousy or observa-
 tion led them to apprehend, left the Protestants
 little reason to doubt of the Emperor's, hostile
 intentions. Under this impression, the depu-
 ties of the confederates of Smalkalde assembled
 at Francfort, and by communicating their intel-
 ligence and sentiments to each other, recipro-
 cally heightened their sense of the impending
 danger. But their union was not such as their
 situation required, or the preparations of their
 enemies rendered necessary. Their league had
 not subsisted ten years. Among so many mem-
 bers whose territories were intermingled with
 each other, and who, according to the custom
 of Germany, had created an infinite variety of
 mutual rights and claims by intermarriages, al-
 liances, and contracts of different kinds, sub-
 jects of jealousy and discord had unavoidably
 arisen. Some of the confederates, being con-

Their de-
 liberations.

⁵⁰ Seck. l. iii. 579.

connected with the Duke of Brunswick, were highly disgusted with the Landgrave, on account of the rigour with which he had treated that rash but unfortunate Prince. Others taxed the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave, the heads of the league, with having involved the members in unnecessary and exorbitant expences by their profuseness or want of œconomy. The views, likewise, of those two great Princes, who, by their superior power and authority, influenced and directed the whole body, being extremely different, rendered all its motions languid, at a time when the utmost vigour and dispatch were requisite. The Landgrave, of a violent and enterprising temper, but not forgetful, amidst his zeal for religion, of the usual maxims of human policy, insisted that, as the danger which threatened them was manifest and unavoidable, they should have recourse to the most effectual expedient for securing their own safety, by courting the protection of the Kings of France and England, or by joining in alliance with the Protestant cantons of Swisserland, from whom they might expect such powerful and present assistance as their situation demanded. The Elector, on the other hand, with the most upright intentions of any Prince in that age, and with talents which might have qualified him abundantly for the administration of government in any tranquil

BOOK VII. 1546. period, was possessed with such superstitious veneration for all the parts of the Lutheran system, and such bigoted attachment to all its tenets, as made him averse to an union with those who differed from him in any article of faith, and rendered him very incapable of undertaking its defence in times of difficulty and danger. He seemed to think, that the concerns of religion were to be regulated by principles and maxims totally different from those which apply to the common affairs of life; and being swayed too much by the opinions of Luther, who was not only a stranger to the rules of political conduct, but despised them, he often discovered an uncomplying spirit, that proved of the greatest detriment to the cause which he wished to support. Influenced, on this occasion, by the severe and rigid notions of that Reformer, he refused to enter into any confederacy with Francis, because he was a persecutor of the truth; or to solicit the friendship of Henry, because he was no less impious and profane than the Pope himself; or even to join in alliance with the Swiss, because they differed from the Germans in several essential articles of faith. This dissension, about a point of such consequence, produced its natural effects. Each secretly censured and reproached the other. The Landgrave considered the Elector as fettered by narrow prejudices, unworthy of a

Prince called to act a chief part in a scene of Book VII. such importance. The Elector suspected him of 1546. loose principles and ambitious views, which corresponded ill with the sacred cause wherein they were engaged. But though the Elector's scruples prevented their timely application for foreign aid; and the jealousy or discontent of the other Princes defeated a proposal for renewing their original confederacy, the term during which it was to continue in force being on the point of expiring; yet the sense of their common danger induced them to agree with regard to other points, particularly that they would never acknowledge the assembly at Trent as a lawful council, nor suffer the Archbishop of Cologne to be oppressed on account of the steps which he had taken towards the reformation of his diocese⁵¹.

THE Landgrave, about this time, desirous of penetrating to the bottom of the Emperor's intentions, wrote to Granvelle, whom he knew to be thoroughly acquainted with all his master's schemes, informing him of the several particulars which raised the suspicions of the Protestants, and begging an explicit declaration of what they had to fear or to hope. Granvelle, in return, assured them that the intelli-

Their negotiations with the Emperor.

⁵¹ Seck. l. iii. 566. 570. 613. Sleid. 355.

Book VII. 1546. gence which they had received of the Emperor's military preparations was exaggerated, and all their suspicions destitute of foundation; that though, in order to guard his frontiers against any insult of the French or English, he had commanded a small body of men to be raised in the Low Countries, he was as solicitous as ever to maintain tranquillity in Germany ⁵².

BUT the Emperor's actions did not correspond with these professions. For, instead of appointing men of known moderation and a pacifick temper to appear in defence of the Catholick doctrines at the conference which had been agreed on, he made choice of fierce bigots, attached to their own system with a blind obstinacy, that rendered all hope of a reconciliation desperate. Malvenda, a Spanish divine, who took the conduct of the debate on the part of the Catholics, managed it with all the subtle dexterity of a scholastick metaphysician, more studious to perplex his adversaries than to convince them, and more intent on palliating error than on discovering truth. The Protestants filled with indignation, as well at his sophistry as at some regulations which the Emperor endea-

⁵² Sleid. 356.

voured to impose on the disputants, broke off Book VII, the conference abruptly, being now fully con- 1546.
vinced that, in all his late measures, the Emperor could have no other view than to amuse them, and to gain time for ripening his own schemes⁵³.

⁵³ Sleid. 358. Seck. 1. iij. 620.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF THE
EMPEROR CHARLES V.
BOOK VIII.

BOOK VIII.

1546.

Death of
Luther.

Feb. 18.

WHILE appearances of danger daily increased, and the tempest which had been so long a gathering was ready to break forth in all its violence against the Protestant church, Luther was saved, by a seasonable death, from feeling or beholding its destructive rage. Having gone, though in a declining state of health, and during a rigorous season, to his native city of Eisleben, in order to compose, by his authority, a dissension among the counts of Mansfield, he was seized with a violent inflammation in his stomach which in a few days put an end to his life, in

the sixty-third year of his age. As he was raised BOOK VIII.
 up by providence to be the author of one of the 1546.
 greatest and most interesting revolutions recorded
 in history, there is not any person perhaps
 whose character has been drawn with such op-
 posite colours. In his own age, one party, struck
 with horror and inflamed with rage, when they
 saw with what a daring hand he overturned
 every thing which they held to be sacred, or
 valued as beneficial, imputed to him not only
 all the defects and vices of a man, but the qua-
 lities of a dæmon. The other, warmed with the
 admiration and gratitude, which they thought
 he merited as the restorer of light and liberty to
 the Christian church, ascribed to him perfections
 above the condition of humanity, and viewed all
 his actions with a veneration bordering on that
 which should be paid only to those who are
 guided by the immediate inspiration of Heaven. His cha-
racter.
 It is his own conduct, not the undistinguishing
 censure or the exaggerated praise of his contem-
 poraries, that ought to regulate the opinions of
 the present age concerning him. Zeal for what he
 regarded as truth, undaunted intrepidity to main-
 tain his own system, abilities both natural and
 acquired to defend his principles, and unwearied
 industry in propagating them, are virtues which
 shine so conspicuously in every part of his be-
 haviour, that even his enemies must allow him
 to have possessed them in an eminent degree. To

BOOK VIII. these may be added, with equal justice, such
1546. purity and even austerity of manners, as became one who assumed the character of a Reformer; such sanctity of life as suited the doctrine which he delivered; and such perfect disinterestedness as affords no slight presumption of his sincerity. Superior to all selfish considerations, a stranger to the elegancies of life, and despising its pleasures, he left the honours and emoluments of the church to his disciples, remaining satisfied himself in his original state of professor in the university, and pastor of the town of Wittemberg, with the moderate appointments annexed to these offices. His extraordinary qualities were allayed with no inconsiderable mixture of human frailty and human passions. These, however, were of such a nature, that they cannot be imputed to malevolence or corruption of heart, but seem to have taken their rise from the same source with many of his virtues. His mind, forcible and vehement in all its operations, roused by great objects, or agitated by violent passions, broke out, on many occasions, with an impetuosity which astonishes men of feeble spirits, or such as are placed in a more tranquil situation. By carrying some praise-worthy dispositions to excess, he bordered sometimes on what was culpable, and was often betrayed into actions which exposed him to censure. His confidence

confidence that his own opinions were well BOOK VIII.
 founded, approached to arrogance; his courage 1546.
 in asserting them, to rashness; his firmness in
 adhering to them, to obstinacy; and his zeal in
 confuting his adversaries, to rage and scurrility.
 Accustomed himself to consider every thing as
 subordinate to truth, he expected the same de-
 ference for it from other men; and, without
 making any allowances for their timidity or pre-
 judices, he poured forth against such as disap-
 pointed him in this particular, a torrent of in-
 vective mingled with contempt. Regardless of
 any distinction of rank or character when his
 doctrines were attacked, he chastised all his ad-
 versaries indiscriminately, with the same rough
 hand; neither the royal dignity of Henry VIII.
 nor the eminent learning and abilities of Eras-
 mus, screened them from the same gross abuse
 with which he treated Tetzel or Eccius.

BUT these indecencies of which Luther was
 guilty, must not be imputed wholly to the vio-
 lence of his temper. They ought to be charged
 in part on the manners of the age. Among a
 rude people, unacquainted with those maxims,
 which, by putting continual restraint on the
 passions of individuals, have polished society
 and rendered it agreeable, disputes of every kind
 were managed with heat, and strong emotions

BOOK VIII. were uttered in their natural language, without
1546. reserve or delicacy. At the same time, the works of learned men were all composed in Latin, and they were not only authorized, by the example of eminent writers in that language, to use their antagonists with the most illiberal scurrility; but, in a dead tongue, indecencies of every kind appear less shocking than in a living language, whose idioms and phrases seem gross, because they are familiar.

IN passing judgment upon the characters of men, we ought to try them by the principles and maxims of their own age, not by those of another. For, although virtue and vice are at all times the same, manners and customs vary continually. Some parts of Luther's behaviour, which to us appear most culpable, gave no disgust to his contemporaries. It was even by some of those qualities, which we are now apt to blame, that he was fitted for accomplishing the great work which he undertook. To rouse mankind, when sunk in ignorance or superstition, and to encounter the rage of bigotry, armed with power, required the utmost vehemence of zeal, as well as a temper daring to excess. A gentle call would neither have reached, nor have excited those to whom it was addressed. A spirit more amiable, but less vigorous than Luther's, would have shrunk back from the dan-

gers, which he braved and surmounted. To-Book VIII.
wards the close of Luther's life, though without 1546.
any perceptible declension of his zeal or abilities,
the infirmities of his temper increased upon him,
so that he grew daily more peevish, more irascible,
and more impatient of contradiction. Having lived to be witness of his own amazing
success; to see a great part of Europe embrace
his doctrines; and to shake the foundation of
the papal throne, before which the mightiest
Monarchs had trembled, he discovered, on some
occasions, symptoms of vanity and self-applause.
He must have been indeed more than man, if,
upon contemplating all that he actually accomplished,
he had never felt any sentiment of this
kind rising in his breast¹.

¹ A remarkable instance of this, as well as of a certain singularity and elevation of sentiment, is found in his Last Will. Though the effects which he had to bequeath were very inconsiderable, he thought it necessary to make a Testament, but scorned to frame it with the usual legal formalities. *Notus sum, says he, in cœlo, in terra, & inferno, & auctoritatem ad hoc sufficientem habeo, ut mihi soli credatur, cum Deus mihi, homini licet damnabili, et miserabili peccatori, ex paterna misericordia Evangelium filii sui crediderit, dederitque ut in eo verax & fidelis fuerim, ita ut multi in mundo illud per me acceperint, & me pro Doctore veritatis agnoverint, spreto banno Papæ, Cæsaris, Regum, Principum & sacerdotum, immo omnium dæmonum odio. Quidni, igitur, ad dispositionem hanc, in re exigua, sufficiat, si adsit manus meæ testimonium, & dici possit, hæc scripsit D. Martinus Luther, Notarius Dei, & testis Evangelii ejus. Seck. l. iii. p. 651.*

BOOK VIII. 1546. SOME time before his death he felt his strength declining, his constitution being worn out by a prodigious multiplicity of business, added to the labour of discharging his ministerial function with unremitting diligence, to the fatigue of constant study, besides the composition of works as voluminous as if he had enjoyed uninterrupted leisure and retirement. His natural intrepidity did not forsake him at the approach of death; his last conversation with his friends was concerning the happiness reserved for good men in a future world, of which he spoke with the fervour and delight natural to one who expected and wished to enter soon upon the enjoyment of it². The account of his death filled the Roman Catholick party with excessive as well as indecent joy, and damped the spirits of all his followers; neither party sufficiently considering that his doctrines were now so firmly rooted, as to be in a condition to flourish independent of the hand which first had planted them. His funeral was celebrated by order of the Elector of Saxony with extraordinary pomp. He left several children by his wife Catharine a Boria, who survived him. Towards the end of the last century, there were in Saxony some of his descendants in decent and honourable stations³.

² Sleid. 362. Seck. lib. iii. 632, &c.

³ Seck. l. iii. 651.

THE Emperor, meanwhile, pursued the plan of dissimulation with which he had set out, employing every art to amuse the Protestants, and to quiet their fears and jealousies. For this purpose he contrived to have an interview with the Landgrave of Hesse, the most active of all the confederates, and the most suspicious of his designs. To him he made such warm professions of his concern for the happiness of Germany, and of his aversion to all violent measures; he denied in such express terms, his having entered into any league, or having begun any military preparations which should give cause of alarm to the Protestants, as seem to have dispelled all the Landgrave's doubts and apprehensions, and sent him away fully satisfied of his pacifick intentions. This artifice was of great advantage, and effectually answered the purpose for which it was employed. The Landgrave upon his leaving Spires, where he had been admitted to this interview, went to Worms, where the Smalkaldick confederates were assembled, and gave them such a flattering representation of the Emperor's favourable disposition towards them, that they, too apt, as well from the temper of the German nation, as from the genius of all great associations or bodies of men, to be slow, and dilatory, and undecisive in their deliberations, thought there was no necessity of

Book VIII.

1546.

The Emperor endeavours to amuse and deceive the Protestants.

March 23.

BOOK VIII. taking any immediate measures against danger,
1546. which appeared to be distant or imaginary⁴.

Proceedings
of the coun-
cil against
the Protest-
ants.

SUCH events, however, soon occurred, as staggered the credit which the Protestants had given to the Emperor's declarations. The council of Trent, though still composed of a small number of Italian and Spanish prelates, without a single deputy from any of the kingdoms which it assumed a right of binding by its decrees, being ashamed of its long inactivity, proceeded now to settle articles of the greatest importance. Having begun with examining the first and chief point in controversy between the church of Rome and the Reformers, concerning the rule which should be held as supreme and decisive in matters of faith, the council, by its infallible authority, determined,

April 8. "That the books to which the designation of *Apocryphal* hath been given, are of equal authority with those which were received by the Jews and primitive Christians into the sacred canon; that the traditions handed down from the apostolick age, and preserved in the church, are entitled to as much regard as the doctrines and precepts which the inspired authors have committed to writing; that the Latin translation of the Scriptures, made or revised by St.

⁴ Sleid. Hist. 367. 373.

Jerome, and known by the name of the *Vulgate* BOOK VIII.
translation, should be read in churches, and 1546.
appealed to in the schools as authentick and canonical. Against all who disclaimed the truth of these tenets, anathemas were denounced in the name and by the authority of the Holy Ghost. The decision of these points, which undermined the main foundation of the Lutheran system, was a plain warning to the Protestants what judgment they might expect when the council should have leisure to take into consideration the particular and subordinate articles of their creed¹.

THIS discovery of the council's readiness to condemn the opinions of the Protestants, was soon followed by a striking instance of the Pope's resolution to punish such as embraced them. The appeal of the canons of Cologne against their Archbishop having been carried to Rome, Paul eagerly seized on that opportunity, both of displaying the extent of his own authority, and of teaching the German ecclesiasticks the danger of revolting from the established church. As no person appeared in behalf of the Archbishop, he was held to be convicted of the crime of heresy, and a Papal bull was issued, depriving him of his ecclesiastical dig-

¹ F. Paul, 141. Pallav. 206.

BOOK VIII. nity, inflicting on him the sentence of excom-
 1546. munication, and absolving his subjects from the
 oath of allegiance which they had taken to him
 as their civil superior. The countenance which
 he had given to the Lutheran heresy was the
 only crime imputed to him, as well as the only
 reason assigned to justify the extraordinary rigour
 of this decree. The Protestants could hardly
 believe that Paul, how zealous soever to defend
 the established system, or to humble those who
 invaded it, would have ventured to proceed to
 such extremities against a Prince and Elector of
 the Empire, without having previously secured
 such powerful protection as would render his
 censure something more than an impotent and
 despicable folly of resentment. They were of
 course deeply alarmed at this sentence against
 the Archbishop, considering it as a sure indica-
 tion of the malevolent intentions not only of
 the Pope, but of the Emperor, against the
 whole party⁶.

Charles
 about to
 commence
 hostilities
 against the
 Protestants.

UPON this fresh revival of their fears, with
 such violence as is natural to men roused from
 a false security, and conscious of their having
 been deceived, Charles saw that it was now ne-
 cessary to throw aside the veil, and to declare
 openly what part he determined to act. By a

⁶ Sleid. 354. F. Paul, 155. Pallavic. 224.

long series of artifice and fallacy, he had gained Book VIII.
 so much time, that his measures, though not 1546.
 altogether ripe for execution were greatly ma-
 tured. The Pope, by his proceedings against
 the Elector of Cologne, as well as by the de-
 cree of the council, had precipitated matters
 into such a situation, as rendered a breach be-
 tween the Emperor and the Protestants almost
 unavoidable. Charles had now no choice left
 him but either to take part with them in over-
 turning what the See of Rome had determined,
 or to support the authority of the church openly
 by force of arms. Nor did the Pope think it
 enough to have brought the Emperor under a Negociates
with the
Pope.
 necessity of acting; he pressed him to begin his
 operations, by promising to second him with
 such vigour as could not well fail of securing
 his success. Transported by his zeal against
 heresy, Paul forgot all the prudent and cautious
 maxims of the papal see, with regard to the
 danger of extending the Imperial authority
 beyond due bounds; and in order to crush the
 Lutherans, he was willing to contribute towards
 raising up a master that might one day prove
 formidable to himself as well as to the rest of
 Italy.

BUT, besides the certain expectation of assist- Concludes a
truce with
Solyman.
 ance from the Pope, Charles was now secure

BOOK VIII. from any danger of interruption to his designs
 1546. by the Turkish arms. His negociations at the Porte, which he had carried on with great assiduity since the peace of Crespy, were on the point of being terminated in such a manner as he desired. Solyman, partly in compliance with the French King, who, in order to avoid the disagreeable obligation of joining the Emperor against his ancient ally, laboured with great zeal to bring about an accommodation between them; and partly from its being necessary to turn his arms towards the east, where the Persians threatened to invade his dominions, consented without difficulty to a truce for five years. The chief article of it was, That each should retain possession of what he now held in Hungary; and Ferdinand, as a sacrifice to the pride of the Sultan, submitted to pay an annual tribute of fifty thousand crowns⁷.

Gains Maurice, and other Princes in Germany.

BUT it was upon the aid and concurrence of the Germans themselves that the Emperor relied with the greatest confidence. The Germanick body, he knew, were of such vast strength, as to be invincible if it were united, and that it was only by employing its own force that he could hope to subdue it. Happily for him, the union of the several members in this great sys-

⁷ Istuanhaffi Hist. Hung. 180. Mém. de Ribier, tom. i. 582.

tem was so feeble, the whole frame was so loosely compacted, and its different parts tended so violently towards separation from each other, that it was almost impossible for it, on any important emergence, to join in a general or vigorous effort. In the present juncture, the sources of discord were as many, and as various as had been known on any occasion. The Roman Catholics, animated with zeal in defence of their religion proportional to the fierceness with which it had been attacked, were eager to second any attempt to humble those innovators who had overturned it in many provinces, and endangered it in more. John and Albert of Brandenburg, as well as several other Princes, incensed at the haughtiness and rigour with which the Duke of Brunswick had been treated by the confederates of Smalkalde, were impatient to rescue him, and to be revenged on them. Charles observed, with satisfaction, the working of those passions in their minds, and counting on them as sure auxiliaries whenever he should think it proper to act, he found it, in the mean time, more necessary to moderate than to inflame their rage.

SUCH was the situation of affairs, such the discernment with which the Emperor foresaw and provided for every event, when the diet of the Empire met at Ratisbon. Many of the

BOOK VIII.
1546.

Holds a diet
at Ratisbon.

BOOK VIII. Roman Catholick members appeared there in

1546.

person, but most of the confederates of Smal-kalde, under pretence of their being unable to bear the expence occasioned by the late unnecessary frequency of such assemblies, sent only deputies. Their jealousy of the Emperor, together with an apprehension that violence might, perhaps, be employed, in order to force their approbation of what he should propose in the diet, was the true cause of their absence. The speech with which the Emperor opened the diet was extremely artful. After professing, in common form, his regard for the prosperity of the Germanick body, and declaring, that, in order to bestow his whole attention upon the re-establishment of its order and tranquillity, he had at present abandoned all other cares, rejected the most pressing solicitations of his other subjects to reside among them, and postponed affairs of the greatest importance; he took notice, with some disapprobation, that his disinterested example had not been imitated; many members of chief consideration having neglected to attend an assembly to which he had repaired with such manifest inconvenience to himself. He then mentioned their unhappy dissensions about religion; lamented the ill success of his past endeavours to compose them; complained of the abrupt dissolution of the late conference, and craved their advice with regard to the best

and most effectual method of restoring union to the churches of Germany, together with that happy agreement in articles of faith, which their ancestors had found to be of no less advantage to their civil interest, than becoming their Christian profession. BOOK VIII.
1546.

By this gracious and popular method of consulting the members of the diet, rather than of obtruding upon them any opinion of his own, besides the appearance of great moderation, and the merit of paying much respect to their judgment, the Emperor dexterously avoided discovering his own sentiments, and reserved to himself, as his only part, that of carrying into execution what they should recommend. Nor was he less secure of such a decision as he wished for, by referring it wholly to themselves. The Roman Catholick members, prompted by their own zeal, or prepared by his intrigues joined immediately in representing that the authority of the council now met at Trent ought to be final in all matters of controversy; that all Christians should submit to its decrees as the infallible rule of their faith; and therefore they besought him to exert the power, with which he was invested by the Almighty, in protecting that assembly, and in compelling the Protestants to acquiesce in its determinations. The Protestants, on the other hand, presented a memorial,

BOOK VIII. in which, after repeating their objections to the
 1546. council of Trent, they proposed, as the only effectual method of deciding the points in dispute, that either a free general council should be assembled in Germany, or a national council of the Empire should be called, or a select number of divines should be appointed out of each party to examine and define articles of faith. They mentioned the recesses of several diets favourable to this proposition, and which had afforded them the prospect of terminating all their differences in this amicable manner; they now conjured the Emperor not to depart from his former plan, and by offering violence to their consciences, to bring calamities upon Germany, the very thought of which must fill every lover of his country with horror. The Emperor receiving this paper with a contemptuous smile, paid no farther regard to it. Having already taken his final resolution, and perceiving that nothing but force could compel them
 June 9. to acquiesce in it, he dispatched the Cardinal of Trent to Rome, in order to conclude an alliance with the Pope, the terms of which were already agreed on; he commanded a body of troops, levied on purpose in the Low Countries, to advance towards Germany; he gave commissions to several officers for raising men in different parts of the Empire; he warned John and Albert of Brandenburg, that now was the proper

time of exerting themselves, in order to rescue BOOK VIII.
 their ally, Henry of Brunswick, from cap- 1546.
 tivity⁸.

ALL these things could not be transacted The Pro-
testants
alarmed.
 without the observation and knowledge of the
 Protestants. The secret was now in many
 hands; under whatever veil the Emperor still
 affected to conceal his designs, his officers kept
 no such mysterious reserve, and his allies and
 subjects spoke out his intentions plainly. Alarm-
 ed with reports of this kind from every quar-
 ter, as well as with the preparations of war which
 they saw begun, the deputies of the confede-
 rates demanded audience of the Emperor, and,
 in the name of their masters, required to know
 whether these military preparations were car-
 ried on by his command, and for what end,
 against what enemy. To a question put in such
 a tone, at a time when facts were become
 too notorious to be denied, it was necessary to
 give an explicit answer. Charles owned the
 orders which he had issued, and professing his
 purpose not to molest any on account of reli-
 gion who should act as dutiful subjects; de-
 clared that he had nothing in view but to main-
 tain the rights and prerogatives of the Imperial
 dignity, and, by punishing some factious mem-
 bers, to preserve the ancient constitution of the

⁸ Sleid. 374. Seck. iii. 658.

BOOK VIII. Empire from being impaired or dissolved by
 1546. their irregular and licentious conduct. Though
 the Emperor did not name the persons whom he
 charged with such high crimes, and destined to
 be the objects of his vengeance, it was obvious
 that he had the Elector of Saxony and Land-
 grave of Hesse in view. Their deputies confi-
 dering what he had said, as a plain declaration
 of his hostile intentions, immediately retired
 from Ratisbon.

The Empe-
 ror's treaty
 with the
 Pope.

THE Cardinal of Trent found it no difficult
 matter to treat with the Pope, who having at
 length brought the Emperor to adopt that plan
 which he had long recommended, assented with
 eagerness to every article that he proposed. The
 league was signed a few days after the Cardi-
 nal's arrival at Rome. The pernicious heresies
 which abounded in Germany, the obstinacy of
 the Protestants in rejecting the holy council
 assembled at Trent, and the necessity of main-
 taining sound doctrine, together with good or-
 der in the church, are mentioned as the mo-
 tives of this union between the contracting par-
 ties. In order to check the growth of these
 evils, and to punish such as had impiously con-
 tributed to spread them, the Emperor, having
 long and without success made trial of gentler
 remedies, engaged instantly to take the field

with a sufficient army, that he might compel all who disowned the council, or had apostatized from the religion of their forefathers, to return into the bosom of the church, and submit with due obedience to the Holy See. He likewise bound himself not to conclude a peace with them during six months without the Pope's consent, nor without assigning him his share in any conquests which should be made upon them; and that even after this period he should not agree to any accommodation which might be detrimental to the church, or to the interest of religion. On his part, the Pope stipulated to deposit a large sum in the bank of Venice towards defraying the expence of the war; to maintain, at his own charge, during the space of six months, twelve thousand foot, and five hundred horse; to grant the Emperor, for one year, half of the ecclesiastical revenues throughout Spain; to authorize him, by a bull, to alienate as much of the lands, belonging to religious houses in that country, as would amount to the sum of five hundred thousand crowns; and to employ not only spiritual censures, but military force against any Prince who should attempt to interrupt or defeat the execution of this treaty¹.

NOTWITHSTANDING the explicit terms in which the extirpation of heresy was declared to

¹ Sleid. 381. Pallav. 255. Dumont Corps Diplom. 11.

BOOK VIII. be the object of the war which was to follow

1546.
 Endeavours
 still to con-
 ceal his in-
 tentions
 from the
 Protestants.

upon this treaty, Charles still endeavoured to persuade the Germans that he had no design to abridge their religious liberty, but that he aimed only at vindicating his own authority, and repressing the insolence of such as had encroached upon it. With this view, he wrote circular letters in the same strain with his answer to the deputies at Ratisbon, to most of the free cities, and to several of the Princes who had embraced the Protestant doctrines. In these he complained loudly, but in general terms, of the contempt into which the Imperial dignity had fallen, and of the presumptuous as well as disorderly behaviour of some members of the Empire. He declared that he now took arms, not in a religious, but in a civil quarrel; not to oppress any who continued to behave as quiet and dutiful subjects, but to humble the arrogance of such as had thrown off all sense of that subordination in which they were placed under him as head of the Germanick body. Gross as this deception was, and manifest as it might have appeared to all who considered the Emperor's conduct with attention, it became necessary for him to make trial of its effect; and such was the confidence and dexterity with which he employed it, that he derived the most solid advantages from this artifice. If he had avowed at once an intention of overturning the Protestant

church, and of reducing all Germany under its former state of subjection to the papal see, none of the cities or Princes who had embraced the new opinions could have remained neutral after such a declaration, far less could they have ventured to assist the Emperor in such an enterprise. Whereas by concealing, and even disclaiming any intention of that kind, he not only saved himself from the danger of being overwhelmed by a general confederacy of all the Protestant states, but he furnished the timid with an excuse for continuing inactive, and the designing or interested with a pretext for joining him, without exposing themselves to the infamy of abandoning their own principles, or having an active hand in suppressing them. At the same time the Emperor well knew, that if, by their assistance, he were enabled to break the power of the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave, he might afterwards prescribe what terms he pleased to the feeble remains of a party without union or leaders, who would then regret, too late, their mistaken confidence in him, and their inconsiderate desertion of their associates.

THE Pope, by a sudden and unforeseen display of his zeal, had well nigh disconcerted this plan which the Emperor had formed with so much care and art. Proud of having been the

The Pope
disconcerts
his plan.

BOOK VIII. author of such a formidable confederacy against
1546. the Lutheran heresy, and happy in thinking that the glory of extirpating it was reserved for his Pontificate, he published the articles of his league with the Emperor, in order to demonstrate the pious intention of their confederacy, as well as to display his own zeal, which prompted him to make such extraordinary efforts for maintaining the faith in its purity. Not satisfied with this, he soon after issued a bull, containing most liberal promises of indulgence to all who should engage in this holy enterprise, together with warm exhortations to such as could not bear a part in it themselves, to increase the fervour of their prayers, and the severity of their mortifications, that they might draw down the blessing of Heaven upon those who undertook it¹¹. Nor was it zeal alone which pushed the Pope to make declarations so inconsistent with the account which the Emperor himself gave of his motives for taking arms. He was much scandalized at Charles's dissimulation in such a cause; at his seeming to be ashamed of owning his zeal for the church, and at his endeavours to make that pass for a political contest, which he ought to have gloried in as a war which had no other object than the defence of religion. With as

¹¹ Du Mont Corps Diplom.

much solicitude, therefore, as the Emperor la-Book VIII.
boured to disguise the purpose of the confede- 1546.
racy, did the Pope endeavour to publish their
real plan, in order that they might come at
once to an open rupture with the Protestants,
that all hope of reconciliation might be cut off,
and that Charles might be under fewer tempta-
tions, and have it less in his power than at pre-
sent, to betray the interests of the church by
any accommodation beneficial to himself ¹².

THE Emperor, though not a little offended
at the Pope's indiscretion or malice in making
this discovery, continued boldly to pursue his
own plan, and to assert his intentions to be no
other than what he had originally avowed. Se-
veral of the Protestant states, whom he had
previously gained, thought themselves justified,
in some measure, by his declarations, for aban-
doning their associates, and even for giving
assistance to him.

BUT these artifices did not impose on the greater and sounder part of the Protestant con-
federates. They clearly perceived it to be
against the reformed religion that the Emperor
had taken arms, and that not only the suppres-
sion of it, but the extinction of the German

The prepa-
ration of the
Protestants
for their
own de-
fence.

¹² E. Paul, 188. Thuan. Hist. i. 61.

Book VIII. liberties, would be the certain consequence of
 1546. his obtaining such an entire superiority as would enable him to execute his schemes in their full extent. They determined, therefore, to prepare for their own defence, and neither to renounce those religious truths, to the knowledge of which they had attained by means so wonderful, nor to abandon those civil rights which had been transmitted to them by their ancestors. In order to give the necessary directions for this purpose, their deputies met at Ulm, soon after their abrupt departure from Ratisbon. Their deliberations were now conducted with such vigour and unanimity, as the imminent danger which threatened them required. The contingent of troops, which each of the confederates was to furnish, having been fixed by the original treaty of union, orders were given for bringing them immediately into the field. Being sensible, at last, that through the narrow prejudices of some of their members, and the imprudent security of others, they had neglected too long to strengthen themselves by foreign alliances, they now applied with great earnestness to the Venetians and Swiss.

They solicit
 the aid of
 the Venetians.

To the Venetians they represented the Emperor's intention of overturning the present system of Germany, and of raising himself to absolute power in that country by means of

foreign force furnished by the Pope; they Book VIII.
 warned them how fatal this event would prove 1546.
 to the liberties of Italy, and that by suffering
 Charles to acquire unlimited authority in the
 one country, they would soon feel his dominion
 to be no less despotick in the other; they be-
 sought them, therefore, not to grant a passage
 through their territories to those troops, which
 ought to be treated as common enemies, be-
 cause by subduing Germany they prepared
 chains for the rest of Europe. These reflections
 had not escaped the sagacity of those wise re-
 publicans. They had communicated their sen-
 timents to the Pope, and had endeavoured to
 divert him from an alliance, which tended to
 render irresistible the power of a potentate,
 whose ambition he already knew to be bound-
 less. But they had found Paul so eager in the
 prosecution of his own plan, that he disregard-
 ed all their remonstrances¹¹. This attempt to
 alarm the Pope having proved unsuccessful,
 they would do nothing more towards preventing
 the dangers which they foresaw; and in return
 to the application from the confederates of Smal-
 kalde, they informed them, that they could not
 obstruct the march of the Pope's troops through
 an open country, but by levying an army strong
 enough to face them in the field; and that this

¹¹ Adriani Istoria de' suoi tempi, liv. v. p. 332.

BOOK VIII. would draw upon themselves the whole weight
 1546. of his as well as of the Emperor's indignation. For the same reason they declined lending a sum of money, which the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave proposed to borrow of them, towards carrying on the war ¹⁴.

Of the THE demands of the confederates upon the
 Swiss. Swiss were not confined to the obstructing of the entrance of foreigners into Germany; they required of them, as the nearest neighbours, and closest allies of the Empire, to interpose with their wonted vigour for the preservation of its liberties, and not to stand as inactive spectators, while their brethren were oppressed and enslaved. But with whatever zeal the reformed Cantons might have been disposed to act when the cause of the Reformation was in danger, the Helvetic body was so divided with regard to religion, as rendered it unsafe for the Protestants to take any step without consulting their associates; and among them the emissaries of the Pope and Emperor had such influence, that a resolution of maintaining an exact neutrality between the contending parties, was the utmost which could be procured ¹⁵.

¹⁴ Sleid. 381. Paruta Istor. Venet. tom. iv. 180. Lambertus Hortensius de bello Germanico, apud Scardium, vol. ii. p. 547.

¹⁵ Sleid. 392.

BEING disappointed in both these applications, BOOK VIII.
the Protestants, not long after, had recourse to 1546.
the Kings of France and England; the ap- Of Francis
proach of danger either overcoming the Elector I. and Hen-
of Saxony's scruples, or obliging him to yield ry VIII.
to the importunities of his associates. The situ-
ation of the two Monarchs flattered them with
hopes of success. Hostilities between them had
continued for some time after the peace of Cres-
py. But becoming weary at last of a war, at-
tended with no glory or advantage to either,
they had lately terminated all their differences
by a peace concluded at Campe near Ardres.
Francis having with great difficulty procured
his allies, the Scots, to be included in the treaty,
in return for that concession he engaged to pay
a great sum, which Henry demanded as due to
him on several accounts, and he left Bologne in
the hands of the English, as a pledge for his
faithful performance of that article. But though
the re-establishment of peace seemed to leave
the two Monarchs at liberty to turn their atten-
tion towards Germany, so unfortunate were
the Protestants, that they derived no immediate
advantage from this circumstance. Henry ap-
peared unwilling to enter into any alliance with
them, but on such conditions as would render
him not only the head, but the supreme direc-
tor of their league; a pre-eminence which, as
the bonds of union or interest between them

BOOK VIII. were but feeble, and as he differed from them
 1546. so widely in his religious sentiments, they had
 no inclination to admit¹⁶. Francis, more power-
 fully inclined by political considerations to af-
 ford them assistance, found his kingdom so
 much exhausted by a long war, and was so
 much afraid of irritating the Pope, by entering
 into close union with excommunicated Here-
 ticks, that he durst not undertake the pro-
 tection of the Smalkaldick league. By this ill-
 timed caution, or superstitious deference to scru-
 ples, to which at other times he was not much
 addicted, he lost the most promising opportu-
 nity of mortifying and distressing his rival, which
 presented itself during his whole reign.

Protestants
 take the
 field with a
 great army.

BUT, notwithstanding their ill success in their
 negotiations with foreign courts, the confede-
 rates found no difficulty at home, in bringing a
 sufficient force into the field. Germany abound-
 ed at that time in inhabitants; the feudal insti-
 tutions, which subsisted in full force, enabled
 the nobles to call out their numerous vassals,
 and to put them in motion on the shortest warn-
 ing; the martial spirit of the Germans, not
 broken or enervated by the introduction of com-
 merce and arts, had acquired additional vigour
 during the continual wars in which they had
 been employed, for half a century, either in

¹⁶ Rymer, xv. 93. Herbert, 258.

the pay of the Emperors, or Kings of France. BOOK VIII.
 Upon every opportunity of entering into ser- 1546.
 vice, they were accustomed to run eagerly to
 arms; and to every standard that was erected,
 volunteers flocked from all quarters ¹⁷. Zeal
 seconded, on this occasion, their native ardour.
 Men on whom the doctrines of the Reforma-
 tion had made that deep impresson which ac-
 companies truth when first discovered, prepared
 to maintain it with proportional vigour; and
 among a warlike people, it appeared infamous
 to remain inactive, when the defence of religion
 was the motive for taking arms. Accident com-
 bined with all these circumstances in facilitating
 the levy of foldiers among the confederates. A
 considerable number of Germans, in the pay of
 France, being dismissed by the King on the
 prospect of peace with England, joined in a
 body the standard of the Protestants ¹⁸. By such
 a concurrence of causes, they were enabled to
 assemble in a few weeks an army composed of
 seventy thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse,
 provided with a train of an hundred and
 twenty cannon, eight hundred ammunition
 waggons, eight thousand beasts of burden, and
 six thousand pioneers ¹⁹. This army, one of the

¹⁷ Seck. l. iii. 161. ¹⁸ Thuan. l. i. 68.

¹⁹ Thuan. l. i. 601. Ludovici ab Avila & Zuniga Com-
 mentariorum de bel. Germ. lib. duo, Antw. 1550. 12 mo.
 p. 13, a.

BOOK VIII. most numerous, and undoubtedly the best appointed of any which had been levied in Europe during that century, was not raised by the united effort of the whole Protestant body. The Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Princes of Anhalt, and the Imperial cities of Augsburgh, Ulm, and Straßburgh, were the only powers which contributed towards this great armament: The Electors of Cologne, of Brandenburg, and the Count Palatine, overawed by the Emperor's threats, or deceived by his professions, remained neuter. John marquis of Brandenburg Bareith, and Albert of Brandenburg Anspach, though both early converts to Lutheranism, entered openly into the Emperor's service, under pretext of having obtained his promise for the security of the Protestant religion; and Maurice of Saxony soon followed their example.

The inequality of the Emperor's forces to theirs.

THE number of their troops, as well as the amazing rapidity wherewith they had assembled them, astonished the Emperor, and filled him with the most disquieting apprehensions. He was, indeed, in no condition to resist such a mighty force. Shut up in Ratisbon, a town of no great strength, whose inhabitants being mostly Lutherans, would have been more ready to betray than to assist him, with only three thousand Spanish foot, who had served in Hungary,

and about five thousand Germans who had joined him from different parts of the Empire, he must have been overwhelmed by the approach of such a numerous army, which he could not fight, nor even hope to retreat from it in safety. The Pope's troops, though in full march to his relief, had hardly reached the frontiers of Germany; the forces which he expected from the Low Countries had not yet begun to move, and were even far from being complete^a. His situation, however, called for more immediate succour, nor did it seem practicable for him to wait for such distant auxiliaries, with whom his junction was so precarious.

BUT it happened fortunately for Charles, that the confederates did not avail themselves of the advantage which lay so full in their view. In civil wars, the first steps are commonly taken with much timidity and hesitation. Men are solicitous, at that time, to put on the semblance of moderation and equity; they strive to gain partisans by seeming to adhere strictly to known forms; nor can they be brought, at once, to violate those established institutions, which in times of tranquillity they have been accustomed to reverence; hence their proceedings are often feeble or dilatory when they ought to be most

They im-
prudently
negotiate
instead of
acting.

^a Sleid. 389. Avila, 8, a.

BOOK VIII vigorous and decisive. Influenced by those
1546. considerations, which, happily for the peace of
society, operate powerfully on the human mind,
the confederates could not think of throwing off
that allegiance which they regularly owed to the
head of the Empire, or of turning their arms
against him without one solemn appeal more to
his candour, and to the impartial judgment of
their fellow-subjects. For this purpose, they
addressed a letter to the Emperor, and a mani-
festo to all the inhabitants of Germany. The
tenour of both was the same. They represented
July 15. their own conduct with regard to civil affairs
as dutiful and submissive; they mentioned the
inviolable union in which they had lived with
the Emperor, as well as the many and recent
marks of his good-will and gratitude where-
withal they had been honoured; they asserted
religion to be the sole cause of the violence
which the Emperor now meditated against them;
and in proof of this produced many arguments
to convince those who were so weak as to be
deceived by the artifices with which he endea-
voured to cover his real intentions; they de-
clared their own resolution to risk every thing
in maintenance of their religious rights, and
foretold the dissolution of the German constitu-
tion, if the Emperor should finally prevail
against them ²¹.

²¹ Sleid. 384.

CHARLES, though in such a perilous situation BOOK VIII.
as might have inspired him with moderate sentiments, appeared as inflexible and haughty as if 1546.
his affairs had been in the most prosperous state. The Emperor puts them under the ban of the Empire.
His only reply to the address and manifesto of July 20.
the Protestants, was to publish the ban of the
Empire against the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse, their leaders, and against all who should dare to assist them. By this sentence, the ultimate and most rigorous one which the German jurisprudence has provided for the punishment of traitors, or enemies to their country, they were declared rebels and outlaws, and deprived of every privilege which they enjoyed as members of the Germanick body; their goods were confiscated; their subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance; and it became not only lawful but meritorious to invade their territories. The nobles, and free cities, who framed or perfected the constitution of the German government, had not been so negligent of their own safety and privileges as to trust the Emperor with this formidable jurisdiction. The authority of a diet of the Empire ought to have been interposed before any of its members could be put under the ban. But Charles overlooked that formality, well knowing that, if his arms were crowned with success, there would remain none who would have either power or courage

BOOK VIII. to call in question what he had done ²². The
 1546. Emperor, however, did not found his sentence
 against the Elector and Landgrave on their re-
 volt from the established church, or their con-
 duct with regard to religion; he affected to assign
 for it reasons purely civil, and those too expres-
 sed in such general and ambiguous terms, with-
 out specifying the nature or circumstances of
 their guilt, as rendered it more like an act of
 despotick power than of a legal and limited jurif-
 diction. Nor was it altogether from choice, or
 to conceal his intentions, that Charles had re-
 course to the ambiguity of general expressions;
 he durst not mention too particularly the causes
 of his sentence, as every action which he could
 have charged upon the Elector and Landgrave
 as a crime, might have been employed with
 equal justice to condemn many of the Protestants
 whom he still pretended to consider as faithful
 subjects, and whom it would have been ex-
 tremely imprudent to alarm or disgust.

They de-
 clare war
 against
 Charles.

THE confederates, now perceiving all hopes
 of accommodation to be at an end, had only to
 choose whether they would submit without re-
 serve to the Emperor's will, or proceed to open
 hostilities. They were not destitute of publick
 spirit and resolution to make the proper choice.

²² Sleid. 386. Du Mont. Corps Diplom. iv. p. 11. 314.
 Pffeffel Abregé du Droit Publ. 168. 736. 158.

A few

A few days after the ban of the Empire was published, they, according to the custom of that age, sent a herald to the Imperial camp with a solemn declaration of war against Charles, to whom they no longer gave any other title than that of pretended Emperor, and renounced all allegiance, homage or duty which he might claim, or they had hitherto yielded to him. But previous to this formality, part of their troops had begun to act. The command of a considerable body of men raised by the city of Augsburgh having been given to Sebastian Schertel, a soldier of fortune, who by the booty that he got when the Imperialists plundered Rome, together with the merit of long service, had acquired wealth and authority which placed him on a level with the chief of the German nobles: that gallant veteran resolved, before he joined the main body of the confederates, to attempt something suitable to his former fame, and to the expectation of his countrymen. As the Pope's forces were hastening towards Tyrol, in order to penetrate into Germany by the narrow passes through the mountains which run across that country, he advanced thither with the utmost rapidity, and seized Ehrenberg and Cuffstein, two strong castles which commanded the principal defiles. Without stopping a moment, he continued his march towards Inspruck, by getting possession of which he would have obliged

BOOK VIII.
1546.
Their first operations,

BOOK VIII. the Italians to stop short, and with a small body
 1546. of men could have resisted all the efforts of the greatest armies. Castlealto, the governor of Trent, knowing what a fatal blow this would be to the Emperor, all whose designs must have proved abortive if his Italian auxiliaries had been intercepted, raised a few troops with the utmost dispatch, and threw himself into the town. Schertel, however, did not abandon the enterprize, and was preparing to attack the place, when the intelligence of the approach of the Italians, and an order from the Elector and Landgrave, obliged him to desist²³. By his retreat the passes were left open, and the Italians entered Germany without any opposition, but from the garrisons which Schertel had placed in Ehrenberg and Cuffstein, and these having no hopes of being relieved, surrendered, after a short resistance²⁴.

²³ Seckend. lib. ii. 70. Adriani Istoria de' suoi tempi, 335.

²⁴ Seckendorf, the industrious author of the *Commentarius Apologeticus de Lutheranism*, whom I have so long and safely followed as my guide in German affairs, was a descendant from Schertel. With the care and solicitude of a German, who was himself of noble birth, Seckendorf has published a long digression concerning his ancestor, calculated chiefly to show how Schertel was ennobled, and his posterity allied to many of the most ancient families in the Empire. Among other curious particulars, he gives us an account of his wealth, the chief source of which was

NOR was the recalling of Schertel the only Book VIII. error of which the confederates were guilty. As 1546. the supreme command of their army was com- and ill con- mitted, in terms of the league of Smalkalde, to duct. the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse with equal authority, all the inconveniences arising from a divided and co-ordinate authority, which is always of fatal consequence in the operations of war, were immediately felt. The Elector, though intrepid in his own person to excess, and most ardently zealous in the cause, was slow in deliberating, uncertain as well as irresolute in his determinations, and constantly preferred measures which were cautious and safe, to such as were bold or decisive. The Landgrave, of a more active and enterprising nature, formed all his resolutions with promptitude, wished to execute them with spirit, and uniformly preferred such schemes as tended to bring the contest to a speedy issue. Thus their maxims, with regard to the conduct of the war, differed as widely as those by which they were influenced in preparing for it. Such perpetual contrariety in their sentiments gave rise, imperceptibly, to the plunder he got at Rome. His landed estate was sold by his grandsons for six hundred thousand florins. By this we may form some idea of the riches amassed by the *Condottieri*, or commanders of mercenary bands in that age. At the taking of Rome Schertel was only a captain. Seckend. lib. ii. 73.

Book VIII. jealousy and the spirit of contention. These
 1546. multiplied the dissensions flowing from the incompatibility of their natural temper, and rendered them more violent. The other members of the league considering themselves as independent, and subject to the Elector and Landgrave, only in consequence of the articles of a voluntary confederacy, did not long retain a proper veneration for commanders, who proceeded with so little unanimity; and the numerous army of the Protestants, like a vast machine whose parts are ill compacted, and which is destitute of any power sufficient to move and regulate the whole, acted with no consistency, vigour, or effect.

The Pope's
troops join
the Empe-
ror.

THE Emperor, who was afraid that, by remaining at Ratisbon, he might render it impossible for the Pope's forces to join him, having boldly advanced to Landshut on the Iser, the confederates lost some days in deliberating whether it was proper to follow him into the territories of the Duke of Bavaria, a neutral Prince. When at last they surmounted that scruple, and began to move towards his camp, they suddenly abandoned the design, and hastened to attack Ratisbon, in which town Charles could leave only a small garrison. By this time the papal troops, amounting fully to that number which Paul had stipulated to furnish, had reached Landshut,

and were soon followed by six thousand Spaniards of the veteran bands stationed in Naples. The confederates, after Schertel's spirited but fruitless expedition, seem to have permitted these forces to advance unmolested to the place of rendezvous, without any attempt to attack either them or the Emperor separately, or to prevent their junction²⁵. The Imperial army amounted now to thirty-six thousand men, and was still more formidable by the discipline and valour of the troops, than by their number. Avila, commendador of Alcantara, who had been present in all the wars carried on by Charles, and had served in the armies which gained the memorable victory of Pavia, which conquered Tunis, and invaded France, gives this the preference to any martial force he had ever seen assembled²⁶. Octavio Farnese, the Pope's grandson, assisted by the ablest officers formed in the long wars between Charles and Francis, commanded the Italian auxiliaries. His brother, the Cardinal Farnese, accompanied him, as papal legate; and in order to give the war the appearance of a religious enterprize, he proposed to march at the head of the army, with a cross carried before him, and to publish Indulgences wherever he came, to all who should give them any assistance,

²⁵ Adriani Istoria de' suoi tempi, lib. v. 340.

²⁶ Avila, 18.

BOOK VIII. as had anciently been the practice in the Crusades against the Infidels. But this the Emperor strictly prohibited, as inconsistent with all the declarations which he had made to the Germans of his own party; and the legate perceiving, to his astonishment, that the exercise of the Protestant religion, the extirpation of which he considered as the sole object of the war, was publickly permitted in the Imperial camp, soon returned in disgust to Italy ²⁷.

THE arrival of these troops enabled the Emperor to send such a reinforcement to the garrison at Ratisbon, that the confederates, relinquishing all hopes of reducing that town, marched towards Ingoldstadt on the Danube, near to which Charles was now encamped. They exclaimed loudly against the Emperor's notorious violation of the laws and constitution of the Empire, in having called in foreigners to lay waste Germany, and to oppress its liberties. As in that age, the dominion of the Roman See was so odious to the Protestants, that the name of the Pope alone was sufficient to inspire them with horror at any enterprize which he countenanced, and to raise in their minds the blackest suspicions, it came to be universally believed among them, that Paul, not satisfied with attacking them openly by force of arms, had dis-

²⁷ F. Paul, 191.

perfed his emiffaries all over Germany, to fet on fire their towns and magazines, and to poison the wells and fountains of water. Nor did this rumour spread only among the vulgar, being extravagant as well as frightful enough to make a deep impreffion on their credulity ; even the leaders of the party, blinded by their prejudices, publifhed a declaration, in which they accused the Pope of having employed fuch Antichriftian and diabolical arts againft them ²⁸. Thefe fentiments of the confederates were confirmed, in fome meafure, by the behaviour of the papal troops, who, thinking nothing too rigorous towards Hereticks anathematized by the church, were guilty of great exceffes in the Lutheran territories, and aggravated the calamities of war, by mingling with it all the cruelty of bigoted zeal.

THE first operations in the field, however, did not correfpond with the violence of thofe paffions which animated individuals. The Emperor had prudently taken the refolution of avoiding an action with an enemy fo far fuperior in number ²⁹, efpecially as he forefaw that nothing could keep a body compofed of fo many and fuch diffimilar members, from falling to pieces, but the preffing to attack it with an inconfiderate precipitancy. The confederates, though it

The confederates advance towards the Imperial army.

²⁸ Sleid. 399. ²⁹ Avila, 78, a.

BOOK VIII. was no less evident that to them every moment's

1546. delay was pernicious, were still prevented by the weakness or division of their leaders from exerting that vigour, with which their situation, as well as the ardour of their soldiers, ought to have

August 29. inspired them. On their arrival at Ingoldstadt, they found the Emperor in a camp not remarkable for strength, and surrounded only by a slight entrenchment. Before the camp lay a plain of such extent, as afforded sufficient space for drawing out their whole army, and bringing it to act at once. Every consideration should have determined them to have seized this opportunity of attacking the Emperor; and their vast superiority in numbers, the eagerness of their troops, together with the stability of the German infantry in pitched battles, afforded them the most probable expectation of victory. The Landgrave urged this with great warmth, declaring that if the sole command were vested in him, he would terminate the war on that occasion, and decide by one general action the fate of the two parties. But the Elector, reflecting on the valour and discipline of the enemy's forces, animated by the presence of the Emperor, and conducted by the best officers of the age, would not venture upon an action, which he thought to be so doubtful, as the attacking such a body of veterans on ground which they themselves had chosen, and while covered by fortifications

which, though imperfect, would afford them no small advantage in the combat. Notwithstanding his hesitation and remonstrances, it was agreed to advance towards the enemy's camp, in battle-array, in order to make a trial whether by that insult and by a furious cannonade which they began, they could draw the Imperialists out of their works. But the Emperor had too much sagacity to fall into this snare. He adhered to his own system with inflexible constancy; and drawing up his soldiers behind their trenches, that they might be ready to receive the confederates if they should venture upon an assault, calmly waited their approach, and carefully restrained his own men from any excursions or skirmishes which might bring on an engagement. Meanwhile, he rode along the lines, and addressing the troops of the different nations in their own language, encouraged them by the cheerfulness of his voice and countenance; he exposed himself in places of greatest danger, and amidst the warmest fire of the enemy's artillery, the most numerous that had hitherto been brought into the field by any army. Roused by his example, not a man quitted his ranks; it was thought infamous to discover any symptom of fear when the Emperor appeared so intrepid; and the meanest soldier plainly perceived, that their declining the com-

BOOK VIII.

1546.

The Empe-
ror declines
a battle.

Book VIII. bat at present was not the effect of timidity in
 1546. their general, but the result of a well weighed
 caution. The confederates, after firing several
 hours on the Imperialists, with more noise and
 terror than execution, seeing no prospect of al-
 luring them to fight on equal terms, retired to
 their own camp. The Emperor employed the
 night with such diligence in strengthening his
 works, that the confederates, returning to the
 cannonade next day, found that, though they had
 now been willing to venture upon such a bold
 experiment, the opportunity of making an at-
 tack with advantage was lost³⁰.

The Fle-
 mish troops
 join the
 Emperor.

AFTER such a discovery of their own feeble-
 ness or irresolution, and of the prudence as well
 as firmness of the Emperor's conduct, the con-
 federates turned their whole attention towards
 preventing the arrival of a powerful reinforce-
 ment of ten thousand foot, and four thousand
 horse, which the count de Buren was bringing
 to the Emperor from the Low Countries. But
 though that general had to traverse such an ex-
 tent of country; though his route lay through
 the territories of several states warmly disposed
 to favour the confederates; though they were
 apprized of his approach, and by their vast su-

³⁰ Sleid. 395. 397. Avila, 27, a. Lamb. Hortens. ap.
 Scard. ii.

periority in numbers might easily have detached a force sufficient to overpower him, he advanced with such rapidity, and by such well-concerted movements, while they opposed him with such remissness, and so little military skill, that he conducted this body to the Imperial camp without any loss³¹. Book VIII.
1546.
Sept. 10.

UPON the arrival of the Flemings, in whom he placed great confidence, the Emperor altered, in some degree, his plan of operations, and began to act more upon the offensive, though he still avoided a battle with the utmost industry. He made himself master of Neuburg, Dillingen, and Donawert on the Danube; of Nordlingen, and several other towns, situated on the most considerable streams which fall into that mighty river. By this he got the command of a great extent of country, though not without being obliged to engage in several sharp encounters, of which the success was various, nor without the most imminent danger oftener than once of being drawn into a battle. In this manner the whole autumn was spent; neither party gained any remarkable superiority over the other, and nothing was yet done towards bringing the war to a period. The Emperor had often foretold, with confidence, that discord and the want of

State of
both armies.

³¹ Sleid. 403,

BOOK VIII. money would compel the confederates to disperse
1546. that unwieldy body, which they had neither abilities to guide, nor funds to support³²; but though he waited with impatience for the accomplishment of his prediction, there was no prospect of that event being at hand. Meanwhile he himself began to suffer from the want of forage and provisions; even the Catholick provinces being so much incensed at the introduction of foreigners into the Empire, that they supplied them with reluctance, while the camp of the confederates abounded with a profusion of all necessaries, which the zeal of their friends in the adjacent countries furnished with the utmost liberality and good will. Great numbers of the Italians and Spaniards, unaccustomed to the climate or food of Germany, were become unfit for service through sickness³³. Considerable arrears were now due to the troops, who had scarcely received any money from the beginning of the campaign; the Emperor, experiencing on this as well as on former occasions, that his jurisdiction was more extensive than his revenues, and that the former enabled him to assemble a greater number of soldiers, than the latter were sufficient to pay. Upon all these accounts, he found it difficult to keep his army

³² Belli Smalkaldici Commentarius Græco fermone scriptus a Joach. Camerario, ap. Freherum, vol. iii. p. 479.

³³ Camerar. ap. Freher. 483.

in the field; some of his ablest generals, and even the Duke of Alva himself, persevering and obstinate as he usually was in the prosecution of every measure, advising him to disperse his troops into winter-quarters. But as the arguments urged against any plan which he had adopted, rarely made much impression upon the Emperor, he paid no regard to their opinion, and determined to continue his efforts in order to weary out the confederates; being well assured that if he could once oblige them to separate, there was little probability of their uniting again in a body³⁴. Still, however, it remained a doubtful point, whether his steadiness was most likely to fail, or their zeal to be exhausted. It was still uncertain which party, by first dividing its forces, would give the superiority to the other; when an unexpected event decided the contest, and occasioned a fatal reverse in the affairs of the confederates.

MAURICE of Saxony having insinuated himself into the Emperor's confidence, by the arts which have already been described, no sooner saw hostilities ready to break out between him and the confederates of Smalkalde, than vast prospects of ambition began to open upon him. That portion of Saxony, which descended to

³⁴ Thuan. 83.

The
schemes
of Maurice
of Saxony.

BOOK VIII. him from his ancestors, was far from satisfying
 1546. his aspiring mind; and he perceived with pleasure the approach of civil war, as amidst the revolutions and convulsions occasioned by it, opportunities of acquiring additional power or dignity, which at other times are sought in vain, present themselves to an enterprising spirit. As he was thoroughly acquainted with the state of the two contending parties, and the qualities of their leaders, he did not hesitate long in determining on which side the greatest advantages were to be expected. Having revolved all these things in his own mind, and having taken his final resolution of joining the Emperor, he prudently determined to declare early in his favour; that by the merit of this, he might acquire a title to a proportional recompense. With this view, he had repaired to Ratisbon in the month of May, under pretext of attending the diet; and after many conferences with Charles or his ministers, he, with the most mysterious secrecy, concluded a treaty, in which he engaged to concur in assisting the Emperor as a faithful subject: and Charles, in return, stipulated to bestow on him all the spoils of the Elector of Saxony, his dignities as well as territories³⁵. History hardly records any

His league
with the
Emperor.

³⁵ Haræi Annal. Brabant, vol. i. 638. Struvii Corp. 1048. Thuan. 84.

treaty that can be considered as a more manifest violation of the most powerful principles which ought to influence human actions. Maurice, a professed Protestant, at a time when the belief of religion, as well as zeal for its interests, took strong possession of every mind, binds himself to contribute his assistance towards carrying on a war which had manifestly no other object than the extirpation of the Protestant doctrines. He engages to take arms against his father-in-law, and to strip his nearest relation of his honours and dominions. He joins a dubious friend against a known benefactor, to whom his obligations were both great and recent. Nor was the Prince who ventured upon all this, one of those audacious politicians, who, provided they can accomplish their ends, and secure their interest, avowedly disregard the most sacred obligations, and glory in contemning whatever is honourable or decent. Maurice's conduct, if the whole must be ascribed to policy, was more artful and masterly; he executed his plan in all its parts, and yet endeavoured to preserve, in every step which he took, the appearance of what was fair, and virtuous, and laudable. It is probable, from his subsequent behaviour, that, with regard to the Protestant religion at least, his intentions were upright, that he fondly trusted to the Emperor's promises for its security, but that, according to the fate of all who refine

BOOK VIII.

1546.

BOOK VIII. too much in policy, and who tread in dark and
 1546. crooked paths, in attempting to deceive others,
 he himself was, in some degree, deceived.

His artifices
 in order to
 conceal his
 intentions.

His first care, however, was to keep these engagements with the Emperor, closely concealed: and so perfect a master was he in the art of dissimulation, that the confederates, notwithstanding his declining all connexions with them, and his remarkable assiduity in paying court to the Emperor, seemed to have entertained no suspicion of his designs. Even the Elector of Saxony, when he marched at the beginning of the campaign to join his associates, committed his dominions to Maurice's protection, which he, with an insidious appearance of friendship, readily undertook³⁶. But scarcely had the Elector taken the field, when Maurice began to consult privately with the King of the Romans how to invade those very territories, with the defence of which he was entrusted. Soon after, the Emperor sent him a copy of the Imperial ban denounced against the Elector and Landgrave. As he was next heir to the former, and particularly interested in preventing strangers from getting his dominions into their possession, Charles required him, not only for his own sake, but upon the allegiance and duty

³⁶ Struvii Corp. 1046.

which

which he owed to the head of the Empire, in-Book VIII.
stantly to seize and detain in his hands the for- 1546.
feited estates of the Elector; warning him, at
the same time, that if he neglected to obey these
commands, he should be held as accessory to the
crimes of his kinsman, and be liable to the same
punishment³⁷.

THIS artifice, which it is probable Maurice
himself suggested, was employed by him in or-
der that his conduct towards the Elector might
seem a matter of necessity but not of choice, an
act of obedience to his superior, rather than a
voluntary invasion of the rights of his kinsman
and ally. But in order to give some more spe-
cious appearance to this thin veil with which he
endeavoured to cover his ambition, he, soon
after his return from Ratisbon, had called toge-
ther the states of his country; and representing to
them that a civil war between the Emperor and
confederates of Smalkalde was now become un-
avoidable, desired their advice with regard to
the part which he should act in that event. They
being prepared, no doubt, and tutored before-
hand, as well as desirous of gratifying their
Prince, whom they both esteemed and loved,
gave such counsel as they knew would be most
agreeable; advising him to offer his mediation

³⁷ Sleid. 391. Thuan. 84.

BOOK VIII. towards reconciling the contending parties; but
1546. if that were rejected, and he could obtain proper security for the Protestant religion, they delivered it as their opinion that, in all other points, he ought to yield obedience to the Emperor. Upon receiving the Imperial rescript, together with the ban against the Elector and Landgrave, Maurice summoned the states of his country a second time; he laid before them the orders which he had received, and mentioned the punishment with which he was threatened in case of disobedience; he acquainted them that the confederates had refused to admit of his mediation; and that the Emperor had given him the most satisfactory declarations with regard to religion; he pointed out his own interest in securing possession of the electoral dominions, as well as the danger of allowing strangers to obtain an establishment in Saxony; and upon the whole, as the point under deliberation respected his subjects no less than himself, he desired to know their sentiments how he should steer in that difficult and arduous conjuncture. The states, no less obsequious and complaisant than formerly, relying on the Emperor's promises as a perfect security for their religion, proposed that, before he had recourse to more violent methods, they would write to the Elector, exhorting him, as the best means, not only of appeasing the Emperor, but of preventing his dominions from being seized

by foreign or hostile powers, to give his con-Book VIII.
sent that Maurice should take possession of them 1546.
quietly and without opposition. Maurice him-
self seconded their arguments in a letter to the
Landgrave, his father-in-law. Such an extra-
vagant proposition was rejected with the scorn
and indignation which it deserved. The Land-
grave, in return to Maurice, taxed him with
his treachery and ingratitude towards a kinf-
man to whom he was so deeply indebted; he
treated with contempt his affectation of execut-
ing the Imperial ban, which he could not but
know to be altogether void, by the unconstitu-
tional and arbitrary manner in which it had been
issued; he besought him, not to suffer himself
to be so far blinded by ambition, as to forget
the obligations of honour and friendship, or to
betray the Protestant religion, the extirpation
of which out of Germany, even by the acknow-
ledgment of the Pope himself, was the great
object of the present war³⁸.

BUT Maurice had proceeded too far to be di-He invades
verted from pursuing his plan by reproaches or the territo-
arguments. Nothing now remained but to exe-ries of the
cute with vigour, what he had hitherto carried Eleator of
on by artifice and dissimulation. Nor was his Saxony.
boldness in action inferior to his subtlety in con-

³⁸ Sleid. 405, &c. Thuan. 85. Camerar. 484.

BOOK VIII. 1546. trivance. Having assembled about twelve thousand men, he suddenly invaded one part of the electoral provinces, while Ferdinand with an army composed of Bohemians and Hungarians, over-ran the other. Maurice, in two sharp encounters, defeated the troops which the Elector had left to guard his country; and improving these advantages to the utmost, made himself master of the whole Electorate, except Wittemberg, Gotha, and Eisenach, which being places of considerable strength, and defended by sufficient garrisons, refused to open their gates. The news of these rapid conquests soon reached the Imperial and confederate camps. In the former, their satisfaction with an event, which it was foreseen would be productive of the most important consequences, was expressed by every possible demonstration of joy. The latter was filled with astonishment and terror. The name of Maurice was mentioned with execration, as an apostate from religion, a betrayer of the German liberty, and a contemner of the most sacred and natural ties. Every thing that the rage or invention of the party could suggest, in order to blacken and render him odious; invectives, satires and lampoons, the furious declamations of their preachers, together with the rude wit of their authors, were all employed against him. While he, trusting to the arts which he had so long practised, as if his ac-

tions could have admitted of any serious justifi-
cation, published a manifesto, containing the
same frivolous reason for his conduct, which
he had formerly alleged in the meeting of his
states, and in his letter to the Landgrave³⁹.

THE Elector, upon the first intelligence of
Maurice's motions, proposed to return home
with his troops for the defence of Saxony. But
the deputies of the league, assembled at Ulm,
prevailed on him, at that time, to remain with
the army, and to prefer the success of the com-
mon cause before the security of his own domi-
nions. At length the sufferings and complaints
of his subjects increased so much, that he dis-
covered the utmost impatience to set out, in or-
der to rescue them from the oppression of Mau-
rice, and from the cruelty of the Hungarians,
who having been accustomed to that licentious
and merciless species of war which was thought
lawful against the Turks, committed, wherever
they came, the wildest acts of rapine and vio-
lence. This desire of the Elector was so natu-
ral and so warmly urged, that the deputies at
Ulm, though fully sensible of the unhappy con-
sequences of dividing their army, durst not re-
fuse their consent, how unwilling soever to grant
it. In this perplexity, they repaired to the

The confederates make overtures of accommodation to the Emperor;

³⁹ Sleid. 409, 410.

BOOK VIII. camp of the confederates at Giengen on the
1546. Brenz, in order to consult their constituents. Nor were they less at a loss what to determine in this pressing emergence. But, after having considered seriously the open desertion of some of their allies; the scandalous lukewarmness of others, who had hitherto contributed nothing towards the war; the intolerable load which had fallen of consequence, upon such members as were most zealous for the cause, or most faithful to their engagements; the ill success of all their endeavours to obtain foreign aid; the unusual length of the campaign; the rigour of the season; together with the great number of soldiers, and even officers, who had quitted the service on that account; they concluded that nothing could save them, but either the bringing the contest to the immediate decision of a battle by attacking the Imperial army, or an accommodation of all their differences with Charles by a treaty. Such was the despondency and dejection which now oppressed the party, that of these two they chose what was most feeble and unmanly, empowering a minister of the Elector of Brandenburg to propound overtures of peace in their name to the Emperor.

which he
rejects.

No sooner did Charles perceive this haughty confederacy, which had so lately threatened to drive him out of Germany, condescending to

make the first advances towards an agreement, than concluding their spirit to be gone, or their union to be broken, he immediately assumed the tone of a conqueror; and, as if they had been already at his mercy, would not hear of a negociation, but upon condition of the Elector of Saxony's consenting previously to give up himself and his dominions absolutely to his disposal⁴⁰. As nothing more intolerable or ignominious could have been prescribed, even in the worst situation of their affairs, it is no wonder that this proposition was rejected by a party, humbled and disconcerted rather than subdued. But though they refused to submit tamely to the Emperor's will, they wanted spirit to pursue the only plan which could have preserved their independence; and forgetting that it was the union of their troops in one body which had hitherto rendered the confederacy formidable, and had more than once obliged the Imperialists to think of quitting the field, they inconsiderately abandoned this advantage, which, in spite of the diversion in Saxony, would still have kept the Emperor in awe; and yielding to the Elector's entreaties, consented to his proposal of dividing the army. Nine thousand men were left in the dutchy of Wurtemberg, in order to protect that province as well as the

1546.

The troops
of the con-
federacy se-
parate.

⁴⁰ Hortensius, ap. Scard. ii. 485.

BOOK VIII. free cities of Upper Germany ; a considerable
 1546. body marched with the Elector towards Saxony ;
 but the greater part returned with their respective
 leaders into their own countries, and were
 dispersed there ⁴¹.

Almost all
 the mem-
 bers of it
 submit to
 the Empe-
 ror.

THE moment that the troops separated, the
 confederacy ceased to be the object of terror ;
 and the members of it, who, while they com-
 posed part of a great body , had felt but little
 anxiety about their own security , began to
 tremble when they reflected that they now stood
 exposed singly to the whole weight of the Em-
 peror's vengeance. Charles did not allow them
 leisure to recover from their consternation, or
 to form any new schemes of union. As soon
 as the confederates began to retire, he put his
 army in motion, and though it was now the
 depth of winter, he resolved to keep the field,
 in order to make the most of that favourable
 juncture for which he had waited so long. Some
 small towns, in which the enemy had left gar-
 risons, immediately opened their gates. Nord-
 lingen, Rotenberg, and Hall, Imperial cities,
 submitted soon after. Though Charles could
 not prevent the Elector from levying, as he
 retreated, large contributions upon the archbish-
 op of Mentz, the abbot of Fulda, and other
 ecclesiasticks ⁴², this was more than balanced by

⁴¹ Sleid. 411. ⁴² Thuan. 88.

the submission of Ulm, one of the chief cities of Suabia, highly distinguished by its zeal for the Smalkaldick league. As soon as an example was set of deserting the common cause, the rest of the members became instantly impatient to follow it, and seemed afraid lest others, by getting the start of them in returning to their duty, should, on that account, obtain more favourable terms. The Elector Palatine, a weak Prince, who, notwithstanding his professions of neutrality, had, very preposterously, sent to the confederates four hundred horse, a body so inconsiderable as to be scarcely any addition to their strength, but great enough to render him guilty in the eyes of the Emperor, made his acknowledgments in the most abject manner. The inhabitants of Augsburgh, shaken by so many instances of apostacy, expelled the brave Schertel out of their city, and accepted such conditions as the Emperor was pleased to grant them. BOOK VIII.
1546.

THE Duke of Wurtemberg, though among the first who had offered to submit, was obliged to sue for pardon on his knees; and even after this mortifying humiliation, obtained it with difficulty⁴³. Memmingen, and other free cities in the circle of Suabia, being now aban- 1547.

⁴³ Mém. de Ribier, tom. i. 589.

BOOK VIII. done by all their former associates, found it
 1547. necessary to provide for their own safety, by
 throwing themselves on the Emperor's mercy. Strasburgh and Frankfort on the Maine, cities far remote from the seat of danger, discovered no greater steadiness than those which lay more exposed. Thus a confederacy, lately so powerful as to shake the Imperial throne, fell to pieces and was dissolved in the space of a few weeks; hardly any member of that formidable combination now remaining in arms, but the Elector and Landgrave, whom the Emperor, having from the beginning marked out as the victims of his vengeance, was at no pains to reconcile. Nor did he grant those who submitted to him a generous and unconditional pardon. Conscious of his own superiority, he treated them both with haughtiness and rigour. All the Princes in person, and the cities by their deputies, were compelled to implore mercy in the humble posture of supplicants. As the Emperor laboured under great difficulties from the want of money, he imposed heavy fines upon them, which he levied with most rapacious exactness. The Duke of Wurtemberg paid three hundred thousand crowns; the city of Augsburgh an hundred and fifty thousand; Ulm an hundred thousand; Frankfort eighty thousand; Memmingen fifty thousand; and the rest in proportion to their abilities, or

The rigorous conditions imposed by the Emperor.

their different degrees of guilt. They were BOOK VIII
 obliged, besides, to renounce the league of 1547.
 Smalkalde; to furnish assistance, if required,
 towards executing the Imperial ban against the
 Elector and Landgrave; to give up their artil-
 lery and warlike stores to the Emperor; to ad-
 mit garrisons into their principal cities and
 places of strength; and, in this disarmed and
 dependent situation, to expect the final award
 which the Emperor should think proper to pro-
 nounce when the war came to an issue⁴⁴. But,
 amidst the great variety of articles dictated by
 Charles on this occasion, he, in conformity to
 his original plan, took care that nothing relat-
 ing to religion should be inserted; and to such
 a degree were the confederates humbled or
 over-awed, that, forgetting the zeal which had
 so long animated them, they were solicitous
 only about their safety, without venturing to
 insist on a point, the mention of which they saw
 him avoiding with so much industry. The in-
 habitants of Memmingen alone made some fee-
 ble efforts to procure a promise of protection in
 the exercise of their religion, but were checked
 so severely by the Emperor's ministers that they
 instantly fell from their demand.

⁴⁴ Sleid. 411, &c. Thuan. lib. iv. p. 125. Mém. de
 Ribier, tom. i. 606.

BOOK VIII. THE Elector of Cologne, whom, notwith-

1547. standing the sentence of excommunication issued against him by the Pope, Charles had hitherto allowed to remain in possession of the archiepiscopal see, being now required by the Emperor to submit to the censures of the church, this virtuous and disinterested prelate, unwilling to expose his subjects to the miseries of a war on

Jan. 25. his own account, voluntarily resigned that high dignity. With a moderation becoming his age and character, he chose to enjoy truth together with the exercise of his religion in the retirement of a private life, rather than to disturb society by engaging in a doubtful and violent struggle in order to retain his office ⁴⁵.

The Elector
returns to
Saxony, and
recovers pos-
session of it.

MEANWHILE the Elector of Saxony reached the frontiers of his country unmolested. As Maurice could assemble no force equal to the army which accompanied him, he, in a short time, not only recovered possession of his own territories, but over-ran Misnia, and stripped his rival of all that belonged to him, except Dresden and Leipzig, which, being towns of some strength, could not be suddenly reduced. Maurice obliged to quit the field, and to shut himself up in his capital, dispatched courier after courier to the

⁴⁵ Sleid. 418. Thuan. lib. iv. 128.]

Emperor, representing his dangerous situation, BOOK VIII.
 and soliciting him with the most earnest impor- 1547.
 tunity to march immediately to his relief. But
 Charles, busy at that time in prescribing terms
 to such members of the league as were daily re-
 turning to their allegiance, thought it sufficient
 to detach Albert Marquis of Brandenburg-An-
 spach with three thousand men to his assistance.
 Albert, though an enterprising and active of-
 ficer, was unexpectedly surprized by the Elec-
 tor, who killed many of his troops, dispersed
 the remainder, and took him prisoner⁴⁶. Mau-
 rice continued as much exposed as formerly;
 and if his enemy had known how to improve
 the opportunity which presented itself, his ruin
 must have been immediate and unavoidable.
 But the Elector, no less slow and dilatory when
 invested with the sole command, than he had
 been formerly when joined in authority with a
 partner, never gave any proof of military acti-
 vity but in this enterprize against Albert. In-
 stead of marching directly towards Maurice,
 whom the defeat of his ally had greatly alarmed,
 he inconsiderately listened to overtures of ac-
 commodation, which his artful antagonist pro-
 posed with no other intention than to amuse
 him, and to slacken the vigour of his ope-
 rations.

⁴⁶ Avila, 99. 6. Mém. de Ribier, tom. i. 620.

BOOK VIII. SUCH, indeed, was the posture of the Emperor's affairs that he could not march instantly to the relief of his ally. Soon after the separation of the confederate army, he, in order to ease himself of the burden of maintaining a superfluous number of troops, had dismissed the count of Buren with his Flemings⁴⁷, imagining that the Spaniards and Germans, together with the papal forces, would be fully sufficient to crush any degree of vigour that yet remained among the members of the league. But Paul, growing wise too late, began now to discern the imprudence of that measure, from which the more sagacious Venetians had endeavoured in vain to dissuade him. The rapid progress of the Imperial arms, and the ease with which they had broken a combination that appeared no less firm than powerful, opened his eyes at length, and made him not only forget at once all the advantages which he had expected from such a complete triumph over heresy, but placed, in the strongest light, his own impolitick conduct, in having contributed towards acquiring for Charles such an immense increase of power, as would enable him, after oppressing the liberties of Germany, to give law with absolute authority to all the states of Italy. The moment that he perceived his error, he

1547.
The Emperor prevented from attacking the Elector and Landgrave.

⁴⁷ Avila, 83. 6. Mém. de Ribier, tom. i. 592.

endeavoured to correct it. Without giving the Emperor any warning of his intention, he ordered Farnese, his grandson, to return instantly to Italy with all the troops under his command, and at the same time recalled the licence which he had granted Charles, of appropriating, to his own use, a large share of the church-lands in Spain. He was not destitute of pretences to justify this abrupt desertion of his ally. The term of six months, during which the stipulations in their treaty were to continue in force, was now expired; the league, in opposition to which their alliance had been framed, seemed to be entirely dissipated; Charles, in all his negotiations with the Princes and cities which had submitted to his will, had neither consulted the Pope, nor had allotted him any part of the conquests which he had made, nor had communicated to him any share in the vast contributions which he had raised. He had not even made any provision for the suppression of heresy, or the re-establishment of the Catholick religion, which were Paul's chief inducements to bestow the treasures of the church so liberally in carrying on the war. These colours, however specious, did not conceal from the Emperor that secret jealousy which was the true motive of the Pope's conduct. But, as Paul's orders with regard to the march of his troops were no less peremptory than unexpected, it was impossible

1547.

The Pope
recalls his
troops.

BOOK VIII. to prevent their retreat. Charles exclaimed
 1547. loudly against his treachery, in abandoning him
 so unseasonably, while he was prosecuting a war
 undertaken in obedience to the papal injunctions, and from which, if successful, so much honour and advantage would redound to the church. To complaints he added threats and expostulations. But Paul remained inflexible; his troops continued their march towards the ecclesiastical state; and in an elaborate memorial intended as an apology for his behaviour, he discovered new and more manifest symptoms of alienation from the Emperor, together with a deep-rooted dread of his power⁴⁸. Charles, weakened by the withdrawing of so great a body from his army, which was already much diminished by the number of garrisons that he had been obliged to throw into the towns which had capitulated, found it necessary to recruit his forces by new levies, before he could venture to march in person towards Saxony.

A conspi-
 racy to over-
 turn the go-
 vernment of
 Genoa.

THE fame and splendour of his success could not have failed of attracting such multitudes of soldiers into his service from all the extensive territories now subject to his authority, as must have soon put him in a condition of taking the field against the Elector; but the sudden and violent eruption of a conspiracy at Genoa, as

⁴⁸ F. Paul, 208. Pallavic. par. ii. p. 5. Thuan. 126.

well as the great revolutions which that event, BOOK VIII.
 extremely mysterious in its first appearances, 1547.
 seemed to portend, obliged him to avoid en-
 tangling himself in new operations in Germany,
 until he had fully discovered its source and ten-
 dency. The form of government which had
 been established in Genoa, at the time when
 Andrew Doria restored liberty to his country,
 though calculated to obliterate the memory of
 former dissensions, and received at first with
 eager approbation, did not, after a trial of near
 twenty years, give universal satisfaction to those
 turbulent and factious republicans. As the en-
 tire administration of affairs was now lodged in
 a certain number of noble families, many en-
 vying them that pre-eminence, wished for the
 restitution of a popular government, to which The object
 they had been accustomed; and though all re- of the con-
 verenced the disinterested virtue of Doria, and spirators.
 admired his talents, not a few were jealous
 of that ascendant which he had acquired in the
 councils of the commonwealth. His age, how-
 ever, his moderation, and love of liberty, af-
 forded ample security to his countrymen that he
 would not abuse his power, nor stain the close
 of his days by attempting to overturn that fa-
 brick, which it had been the labour and pride
 of his life to erect. But the authority and in-
 fluence which in his hands were innocent, they
 easily saw would prove destructive, if usurped

BOOK VIII. by any citizen of greater ambition, or less virtue. A citizen of this dangerous character had actually formed such pretensions, and with some prospect of success. Giannettino Doria, whom his grand uncle Andrew destined to be the heir of his private fortune, aimed likewise at being his successor in power. His temper haughty, insolent, and overbearing to such a degree as would hardly have been tolerated in one born to reign, was altogether insupportable in the citizen of a free state. The more sagacious among the Genoese already feared and hated him as the enemy of those liberties for which they were indebted to his uncle. While Andrew himself, blinded by that violent and undiscerning affection which persons in advanced age often contract for the younger members of their family, set no bounds to the indulgence with which he treated him; seeming less solicitous to secure and perpetuate the freedom of the commonwealth, than to aggrandize that undeserving kinsman.

BUT whatever suspicion of Doria's designs, or whatever dissatisfaction with the system of administration in the commonwealth, these circumstances might have occasioned, they would have ended, it is probable, in nothing more than murmurings and complaints, if John Lewis Fiesco count of Lavagna, observing this growing

disgust, had not been encouraged by it to at-Book VIII.
tempt one of the boldest actions recorded in 1547.
history. That young nobleman, the richest and Fiesco count
most illustrious subject in the republick, pos- of Lavagna
sessed, in an eminent degree, all the qualities the head of
which win upon the human heart, which com- the conspi-
mand respect, or secure attachment. He was racy.
graceful and majestick in his person; magnifi-
cent to profusion; of a generosity that prevent-
ed the wishes of his friends, and exceeded the
expectations of strangers; of an insinuating ad-
dress, gentle manners, and a flowing affability.
But under the appearance of these virtues, which
seemed to form him for enjoying and adorning
civil life, he concealed all the dispositions which
mark men out for taking the lead in the most
dangerous and dark conspiracies; an insatiable
and restless ambition, a courage unacquainted
with fear, and a mind that disdained subordi-
nation. Such a temper could ill brook that
station of inferiority, wherein he was placed in
the republick; and as he envied the power
which the elder Doria had acquired, he was
filled with indignation at the thoughts of its de-
scending, like an hereditary possession, to Gian-
netino. These various passions, preying with
violence on his turbulent and aspiring mind,
determined him to attempt overturning that
domination to which he could not submit.

BOOK VIII. AT first he thought of an alliance with Francis, and even proposed it to the French ambassador at Rome, as the most effectual means of accomplishing this; and after expelling Doria, together with the Imperial faction, by his assistance, he resolved to put the republick once more under the protection of that Monarch, hoping in return for that service to be entrusted with the principal share in the administration of government. But having communicated his scheme to a few chosen confidants, from whom he kept nothing secret, Verrina, the chief of them, a man of desperate fortune, capable alike of advising and executing the most audacious deeds, remonstrated with earnestness against the folly of exposing himself to the most imminent danger, while he allowed another to reap all the fruits of his success; and exhorted him warmly to aim himself at that pre-eminence in his country, to which he was destined by his illustrious birth, was called by the voice of his fellow-citizens, and would be raised by the zeal of his friends. This discourse opened such vast prospects to Fiesco, and so suitable to his genius, that abandoning his own plan, he eagerly adopted that of Verrina. The other persons present, though sensible of the hazardous nature of the undertaking, did not choose to condemn what their patron had so warmly approved. It was instantly resolved, in this dark cabal, to

1547.
Intrigues
and prepara-
tions of the
conspirators.

assassinate the two Dorias, as well as the principal persons of their party, to overturn the established system of government, and to place Fiesco on the ducal throne of Genoa. Time, however, and preparations were requisite to ripen such a design for execution; and while he was employed in carrying on these, Fiesco made it his chief care to guard against every thing that might betray his secret, or create suspicion. The disguise he assumed, was of all others the most impenetrable. He seemed to be abandoned entirely to pleasure and dissipation. A perpetual gaiety, diversified by the pursuit of all the amusements becoming his age and rank, engrossed, in appearance, the whole of his time and thoughts. But amidst this hurry of dissipation, he prosecuted his plan with the most cool attention, neither retarding the design by a timid hesitation, nor precipitating the execution by an excess of impatience. He continued his correspondence with the French ambassador at Rome, though without communicating to him his real intentions, that by his means he might secure the protection of the French arms, if hereafter he should find it necessary to call them to his aid. He entered into a close confederacy with Farnese Duke of Parma, who being disgusted with the Emperor for refusing to grant him the investiture of that dutchy, was eager to promote any measure that

BOOK VIII. tended to diminish his influence in Italy, or to
1547. ruin a family so implicitly devoted to him as that of Doria. Being sensible that, in a maritime state, the acquisition of naval power was what he ought chiefly to aim at, he purchased four galleys from the Pope, who probably was not unacquainted with the design which he had formed, and did not disapprove of it. Under colour of fitting out one of these galleys to sail on a cruise against the Turks, he not only assembled a good number of his own vassals, but engaged in his service many bold adventurers, whom the truce between the Emperor and Solyman had deprived of their usual occupation and subsistence.

WHILE Fiesco was taking these important steps, he preserved so admirably his usual appearance of being devoted entirely to pleasure and amusement, and paid court with such artful address to the two Dorias, as imposed not only on the generous and unsuspicious mind of Andrew, but deceived Giannettino, who, conscious of his own criminal intentions, was more apt to distrust the designs of others. So many instruments being now prepared, nothing remained but to strike the blow. Various consultations were held by Fiesco with his confidents, in order to settle the manner of doing it with the greatest certainty and effect. At first, they

proposed to murder the Dorias and their chief adherents, during the celebration of high mass in the principal church ; but as Andrew was often absent from religious solemnities, on account of his great age , that design was laid aside. It was then concerted that Fiesco should invite the uncle and nephew , with all their friends whom they had marked out as victims, to his house; where it would be easy to cut them off at once without danger or resistance; but as Giannettino was obliged to leave the town on the day which they had chosen, it became necessary likewise to alter this plan. They at last determined to attempt by open force, what they found difficult to effect by stratagem, and fixed on the night between the second and third of January, for the execution of their enterprize. The time was chosen with great propriety; for as the Doge of the former year was to quit his office, according to custom, on the first of the month, and his successor could not be elected sooner than the fourth, the republick remained during that interval in a sort of anarchy, and Fiesco might with less violence take possession of the vacant dignity.

THE morning of that day, Fiesco employed in visiting his friends, passing some hours among them with a spirit as gay and unembarrassed as at other times. Towards evening, he paid court

The conspirators assemble to execute their plan.

BOOK VIII. to the Dorias with his usual marks of respect;
1547. and surveying their countenance and behaviour with the attention natural in his situation, was happy to observe the perfect security in which they remained, without the least foresight or dread of that storm which had been so long a gathering, and was now ready to burst over their heads. From their palace he hastened to his own, which stood by itself in the middle of a large court, surrounded by a high wall. The gates had been set open in the morning, and all persons, without distinction, were allowed to enter, but strong guards posted within the court suffered no one to return. Verrina, meanwhile, and a few persons trusted with the secret of the conspiracy, after conducting Fiesco's vassals, as well as the crews of his galleys into the palace in small bodies, with as little noise as possible, dispersed themselves through the city, and, in the name of their patron, invited to an entertainment the principal citizens whom they knew to be disgusted with the administration of the Dorias, and to have inclination as well as courage to attempt a change in the government. Of the vast number of persons who now filled the palace, a few only knew for what purpose they were assembled; the rest, astonished at finding, instead of the preparations for a feast, a court crowded with armed men, and apartments filled with the instruments of

war, gazed on each other with a mixture of curiosity, impatience, and terror. BOOK VIII.
1547.

WHILE their minds were in this state of suspense and agitation, Fiesco appeared. With a look full of alacrity and confidence, he addressed himself to the persons of chief distinction, telling them, that they were not now called to partake of the pleasure of an entertainment, but to join in a deed of valour, which would lead them to liberty and immortal renown. He set before their eyes the exorbitant as well as intolerable authority of the elder Doria, which the ambition of Giannettino, and the partiality of the Emperor to a family more devoted to him than to their country, was about to enlarge and to render perpetual. This unrighteous domination, continued he, you have it now in your power to subvert, and to establish the freedom of your country on a firm basis. The tyrants must be cut off. I have taken the most effectual measures for this purpose. My associates are numerous. I can depend on allies and protectors if necessary. Happily the tyrants are as secure as I have been provident. Their insolent contempt of their countrymen has banished the suspicion and timidity which usually render the guilty quick-sighted to discern, as well as sagacious to guard against the vengeance which they deserve. They will now feel the blow, before

Fiesco's exhortations to them.

BOOK VIII. they suspect any hostile hand to be nigh. Let
 1547. us then sally forth, that we may deliver our
 country by one generous effort, almost unac-
 companied with danger, and certain of success.
 These words, uttered with that irresistible fer-
 vour which animates the mind when roused by
 great objects, made the desired impression on
 the audience. Fiesco's vassals, ready to execute
 whatever their master should command, received
 his discourse with a murmur of applause. To
 many whose fortunes were desperate, the licence
 and confusion of an insurrection afforded an
 agreeable prospect. Those of higher rank and
 more virtuous sentiments, durst not discover the
 surprize or horror with which they were struck at
 the proposal of an enterprize no less unexpected
 than atrocious; as each of them imagined the
 other to be in the secret of the conspiracy,
 and saw himself surrounded by persons who
 waited only a signal from their leader to perpe-
 trate the greatest crime. With one voice then
 all applauded, or feigned to applaud the under-
 taking.

His inter-
 view with
 his wife.

FIESCO having thus fixed and encouraged his
 associates, before he gave them his last orders, he
 hastened for a moment to the apartment of his
 wife, a lady of the noble house of Cibo, whom
 he loved with tender affection, and whose beauty
 and virtue rendered her worthy of his love.

The noise of the armed men who crowded the court and palace, having long before this reached her ears, she concluded some hazardous enterprize to be in hand, and she trembled for her husband. He found her in all the anguish of uncertainty and fear; and as it was now impossible to keep his design concealed, he informed her of what he had undertaken. The prospect of a scene so full of horror as well as danger, completed her agony; and foreboding immediately in her mind the fatal issue of it, she endeavoured, by her tears, her entreaties, and her despair, to divert him from his purpose. Fiesco, after trying in vain to sooth and to inspire her with hope, broke from a situation into which an excess of tenderness had unwarily seduced him, though it could not shake his resolution. "Farewel, he cried, as he quitted the apartment, you shall either never see me more, or you shall behold to-morrow every thing in Genoa subject to your power."

As soon as he rejoined his companions, he allotted each his proper station; some were appointed to assault and seize the different gates of the city; some to make themselves masters of the principal streets or places of strength: Fiesco reserved for himself the attack of the harbour where Doria's gallies were laid up, as the post of chief importance, and of greatest

They attack
the city.

BOOK VIII. danger. It was now midnight, and the citizens
1547. slept in the security of peace, when this band of conspirators, numerous, desperate, and well-armed, rushed out to execute their plan. They surprised some of the gates, without meeting with any resistance. They got possession of others after a sharp conflict with the soldiers on guard. Verina, with the galley which had been fitted out against the Turks, blocked up the mouth of the Darfena or little harbour where Doria's fleet lay. All possibility of escape being cut off by this precaution, when Fiesco attempted to enter the galleys from the shore to which they were made fast, they were in no condition to make resistance, as they were not only unrigged and disarmed, but had no crew on board, except the slaves chained to the oar. Every quarter of the city was now filled with noise and tumult, all the streets resounding with the cry of *Fiesco* and *Liberty*. At that name, so popular and beloved, many of the lower rank took arms, and joined the conspirators. The nobles and partisans of the aristocracy, astonished or affrighted, shut the gates of their houses, and thought of nothing but of securing them from pillage. At last, the noise excited by this scene of violence and confusion, reached the palace of Doria; Giannettino started immediately from his bed, and imagining that it was occasioned by some mutiny among the sailors, rushed out with a

few attendants, and hurried towards the harbour. The gate of St. Thomas, through which he had to pass, was already in the possession of the conspirators, who, the moment he entered, fell upon him with the utmost fury, and murdered him on the spot. The same must have been the fate of the elder Doria, if Jerome de Fiesco had executed his brother's plan, and had proceeded immediately to attack him in his palace; but he, from the sordid consideration of preventing its being plundered amidst the confusion, having forbid his followers to advance, Andrew got intelligence of his nephew's death, as well as of his own danger; and mounting on horseback, saved himself by flight. Amidst this general consternation, a few senators had the courage to assemble in the palace of the republick⁴⁹. At first, some of the most daring among them attempted to rally the scattered soldiers, and to attack a body of the conspirators; but being repulsed with loss, all agreed that nothing now remained, but to treat with the party which seemed to be irresistible. Deputies were accordingly sent to learn of Fiesco what were the concessions with which he would be satisfied, or rather to submit to whatever terms he should please to prescribe.

BUT by this time Fiesco, with whom they were empowered to negotiate, was no more. Just as he was about to leave the harbour, where

Cause of
their mis-
carriage.

⁴⁹ Il palazzo della Signoria.

BOOK VIII. every thing had succeeded to his wish, that he
1547. might join his victorious companions, he heard
some extraordinary uproar on board the Admiral galley. Alarmed at the noise, and fearing that the slaves might break their chains, and overpower his associates, he ran thither; but the plank which reached from the shore to the vessel happening to overturn, he fell into the sea, whilst he hurried forward too precipitately. Being loaded with heavy armour, he sunk to the bottom, and perished in the very moment when he must have taken full possession of every thing that his ambitious heart could desire. Verrina was the first who discovered this fatal accident, and foreseeing, at once, all its consequences, concealed it with the utmost industry from every one but a few leaders of the conspiracy. Nor was it difficult, amidst the darkness and confusion of the night, to have kept it secret, until a treaty with the senators should have put the city in the power of the conspirators. All their hopes of this were disconcerted by the imprudence of Jerome Fiesco, who, when the deputies of the senate inquired for his brother, the count of Lavagna, that they might make their proposals to him, replied with a childish vanity, "I am now the only person to whom that title belongs, and with me you must treat." These words discovered as well to his friends as to his enemies what had happened, and made

the impression which might have been expected upon both. The deputies, encouraged by this event, the only one which could occasion such a sudden revolution as might turn to their advantage, assumed instantly, with admirable presence of mind, a new tone, suitable to the change in their circumstances, and made high demands. While they endeavoured to gain time by protracting the negociation, the rest of the senators were busy in assembling their partisans, and in forming a body capable of defending the palace of the republick. On the other hand, the conspirators, astonished at the death of a man whom they adored and trusted, and placing no confidence in Jerome, a giddy youth, felt their courage die away, and their arms fall from their hands. That profound and amazing secrecy with which the conspiracy had been concerted, and which had contributed hitherto so much to its success, proved now the chief cause of its miscarriage. The leader was gone, the greater part of those who acted under him, knew not his confidents, and were strangers to the object at which he aimed. There was no person among them whose authority or abilities entitled him to assume Fiesco's place, or to finish his plan; after having lost the spirit which animated it, life and activity deserted the whole body. Many of the conspirators withdrew to their houses, hoping that amidst the darkness of the night they had

1547.

AFTER

BOOK VIII. passed unobserved, and might remain unknown.

1547. Others sought for safety by a timely retreat; and before break of day, most of them fled with precipitation from a city, which, but a few hours before, was ready to acknowledge them as masters.

Tranquillity
re-establish-
ed in Genoa.

NEXT morning every thing was quiet in Genoa; not an enemy was to be seen; few marks of the violence of the former night appeared, the conspirators having conducted their enterprise with more noise than bloodshed, and gained all their advantages by surprise, rather than by force of arms. Towards evening, Andrew Doria returned to the city, being met by all the inhabitants, who received him with acclamations of joy⁵⁰. Though the disgrace as well as danger of the preceding night, were fresh in his mind, and the mangled body of his kinsman still before his eyes, such was his moderation as well as magnanimity, that the decree issued by the senate against the conspirators, did not exceed that just measure of severity which was requisite for the support of government, and was dictated neither by the violence of resentment, nor the rancour of revenge⁵¹.

⁵⁰ Thuan. 93. Sigonii vita Andreæ Doria. 1196. La Conjurat[i]on du Comte de Fiesque, par Cardin. de Retz. Adriani Istoria, lib. vi. 369. Folietæ Conjuratio Jo. Lud. Fiesci ap. Græv. Thes. Ital. i. 883.

⁵¹ It is remarkable, that Cardinal de Retz, at the age of eighteen, composed a history of this conspiracy, containing

AFTER

AFTER taking the necessary precautions for preventing the flame, which was now so happily extinguished, from breaking out anew, the first care of the senate was to send an ambassador to the Emperor, to give him a particular detail of what had happened, and to beg his assistance towards the reduction of Montobbio, a strong fort on the hereditary estate of the Fiesci, in which Jerome had shut himself up. Charles was no less alarmed than astonished at an event so strange and unexpected. He could not believe that Fiesco, how bold or adventurous soever, durst have attempted such an enterprize, but on foreign suggestion, and from the hope of foreign aid. Being informed that the Duke of Parma was well acquainted with the plan of the conspirators, he immediately supposed that the Pope could not be ignorant of a measure, which his son had countenanced. Proceeding from this to a farther conjecture, which Paul's cautious maxims of policy in other instances rendered extremely probable, he concluded that the French King must have known and approved of the design; and he began to apprehend that this

1547.

The Emperor alarmed at this conspiracy.

such a discovery of his admiration of Fiesco and his enterprize, that it is not surprising that a minister, so jealous and discerning as Richelieu, should be led, by the perusal of it, to predict the turbulent and dangerous spirit of that young Ecclesiastick. *Mém. de Retz, tom. i. p. 13.*

Book VIII. spark might again kindle the flame of war which
 1547. had raged so long in Italy. As he had drained
 Suspend his his Italian territories of troops on account of
 operations the German war, he was altogether unprovided
 in Germany. for resisting any hostile attack in that country;
 and on the first appearance of danger, he must
 have detached thither the greatest part of his
 forces for its defence. In this situation of affairs,
 it would have been altogether imprudent in the
 Emperor to have advanced in person against the
 Elector, until he should learn with some degree
 of certainty whether such a scene were not about
 to open in Italy, as might put it out of his
 power to keep the field with an army sufficient
 to oppose him.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGN
OF THE
EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BOOK IX.

THE Emperor's dread of the hostile intentions of the Pope and French King did not proceed from any imaginary or ill-grounded suspicion. Paul had already given the strongest proofs both of his jealousy and enmity. Charles could not hope, that Francis, after a rivalry of so long continuance, would behold the great advantages which he had gained over the confederate Protestants, without feeling his ancient emulation revive. He was not deceived in this conjecture. Francis had observed the rapid progress of his arms with deep concern, and though

BOOK IX.
1547.

Francis jealous of the Emperor's power and success.

BOOK IX. hitherto prevented, by circumstances which have
 1547. been mentioned, from interposing in order to check them, he was now convinced that, if he did not make some extraordinary and timely effort, Charles must acquire such a degree of power as would enable him to give law to the rest of Europe. This apprehension, which did not take its rise from the envy of rivalry alone, but was entertained by the wisest politicians of the age, suggested various expedients which might serve to retard the course of the Emperor's victories, and to form by degrees such a combination against him as might put a stop to his dangerous career.

Negotiates
 with the
 Protestants.

WITH this view, Francis instructed his emissaries in Germany to employ all their address in order to revive the courage of the confederates, and to prevent them from submitting to the Emperor. He made liberal offers of his assistance to the Elector and Landgrave, whom he knew to be the most zealous as well as the most powerful of the whole body; he used every argument, and proposed every advantage which could either confirm their dread of the Emperor's designs, or determine them not to imitate the inconsiderate credulity of their associates, in giving up their religion and liberties to his disposal. While he took this step towards continuing the civil war which raged in Germany, he endeavoured,

likewise, to stir up foreign enemies against the Emperor. He solicited Solyman to seize this favourable opportunity of invading Hungary, which had been drained of all the troops necessary for its defence, in order to form the army against the confederates of Smalkalde. He exhorted the Pope to repair, by a vigorous and seasonable effort, the error of which he had been guilty in contributing to raise the Emperor to such a formidable height of power. Finding Paul, both from the consciousness of his own mistake, and his dread of its consequences, abundantly disposed to listen to his exhortations, he availed himself of this favourable disposition which the Pontiff began to discover, as an argument to gain the Venetians. He endeavoured to convince them that nothing could save Italy, and even Europe, from oppression and servitude, but their joining with the Pope and him, in giving the first beginning to a general confederacy, in order to humble that ambitious potentate, whom they had all equal reason to dread.

HAVING set on foot these negociations in the southern courts, he turned his attention next towards those in the north of Europe. As the King of Denmark had particular reasons to be offended with the Emperor, Francis imagined that he would not be backward to approve of the league which he had projected; and left

BOOK IX. 1547. considerations of caution or prudence should restrain him from joining in it, he attempted to overcome these, by offering him the young Queen of Scots in marriage to his son ¹. As the ministers who governed England in the name of Edward VI. had openly declared themselves converts to the opinions of the Reformers, as soon as it became safe upon Henry's death to lay aside that disguise which his unforgiving bigotry had forced them to assume, Francis flattered himself that their zeal would not allow them to remain inactive spectators of the overthrow and destruction of those who professed the same faith with themselves. He hoped that notwithstanding the struggles of faction incident to a minority, and the prospect of an approaching rupture with the Scots, he might prevail on them likewise to take part in the common cause ².

WHILE Francis employed such variety of expedients, and exerted himself with such extraordinary activity, to rouse the different states of Europe against his rival, he did not neglect what depended on himself alone. He levied troops in all parts of his dominions; he collected military stores; he contracted with the Swiss

¹ Mém. de Ribier, i. 600. 606.

² Mém. de Ribier, i. 635.

cantons for a considerable body of men; he put his finances in admirable order; he remitted considerable sums to the Elector and Landgrave; and took all the other steps necessary towards commencing hostilities, on the shortest warning, and with the greatest vigour ³.

BOOK IX.
1547.

OPERATIONS so complicated, and which required the putting so many instruments in motion, did not escape the Emperor's observation. He was soon informed of Francis's intrigues in the several courts of Europe, as well as of his domestick preparations; and sensible how fatal an interruption a foreign war would prove to his designs in Germany, he trembled at the prospect of that event. The danger, however, appeared to him as unavoidable as it was great. He knew the insatiable and well-directed ambition of Solymán, and that he always chose the season for beginning his military enterprises with prudence equal to the valour with which he conducted them. The Pope, as he had good reason to believe, wanted not pretexts to justify a rupture, nor inclination to begin hostilities. He had already made some discovery of his sentiments, by expressing a joy altogether unbecoming the head of the church, upon receiving an account of the advantage which the Elector of Saxony had gained over

The Emperor greatly alarmed.

³ Mém. de Ribier, i. 595.

BOOK IX. Albert of Brandenburg; and as he was now
 1547. secure of finding in the French King, an ally of
 sufficient power to support him, he was at no
 pains to conceal the violence and extent of his
 enmity*. The Venetians, Charles was well
 assured, had long observed the growth of his
 power with jealousy, which added to the sollicita-
 tions and promises of France, might at last
 quicken their slow counsels, and overcome their
 natural caution. The Danes and English, it was
 evident, had both peculiar reason to be disgusted,
 as well as strong motives to act against him. But
 above all, he dreaded the active emulation of
 Francis himself, whom he considered as the soul
 and mover of any confederacy that could be
 formed against him; and, as that Monarch had
 afforded protection to Verrina, who failed directly
 to Marseilles upon the miscarriage of Fiesco's
 conspiracy, Charles expected every moment the
 commencement of those hostile operations in
 Italy, of which he conceived the insurrection in
 Genoa to have been only the prelude.

Entertains
 hope from
 the declin-
 ing state of
 Francis's
 health.

BUT while he remained in this state of sus-
 pence and solicitude, there was one circumstance
 which afforded him some prospect of escaping
 the danger. The French King's health began
 to decline. A disease, the effect of his intem-
 perance and inconsiderate pursuit of pleasure,

* Mém. de Ribier, tom. i. 637.

preyed gradually on his constitution. The pre-
 parations for war, as well as the negociations in
 the different courts, began to languish, together
 with the Monarch who gave spirit to both.
 The Genoese, during that interval, reduced
 Montobbio, took Jerome Fiesco prisoner, and
 putting him to death, together with his chief
 adherents, extinguished all remains of the con-
 spiracy. Several of the Imperial cities in Ger-
 many, despairing of timely assistance from
 France, submitted to the Emperor. Even the
 Landgrave seemed disposed to abandon the Elec-
 tor, and to bring matters to a speedy accommo-
 dation, on such terms as he could obtain. In
 the mean time, Charles waited with impatience
 the issue of a distemper, which was to decide
 whether he must relinquish all other schemes, in
 order to prepare for resisting a combination of
 the greater part of Europe against him, or whe-
 ther he might proceed to invade Saxony, with-
 out interruption or fear of danger.

BOOK IX.
1547.

March.

THE good fortune, so remarkably propitious
 to his family, that some historians have called it
 the *Star of the House of Austria*, did not desert
 him on this occasion. Francis died at Ram-
 bouillet, on the last day of March in the fifty-
 third year of his age, and the thirty-third of
 his reign. During twenty eight years of that
 time, an avowed rivalry subsisted between

Death of
Francis, and
reflections
on his cha-
racter and
rivalship
with
Charles.

BOOK IX. him and the Emperor, which involved not only
1547. their own dominions, but the greater part of Europe in wars, prosecuted with more violent animosity, and drawn out to a greater length than had been known in any former period. Many circumstances contributed to both. Their animosity was founded in opposition of interest, heightened by personal emulation, and exasperated not only by mutual injuries, but by reciprocal insults. At the same time, whatever advantage one seemed to possess towards gaining the ascendant, was wonderfully balanced by some favourable circumstance, peculiar to the other. The Emperor's dominions were of great extent, the French King's lay more compact; Francis governed his kingdom with absolute power; that of Charles was limited, but he supplied the want of authority by address: the troops of the former were more impetuous and enterprising; those of the latter better disciplined, and more patient of fatigue. The talents and abilities of the two Monarchs were as different as the advantages which they possessed, and contributed no less to prolong the contest between them, Francis took his resolutions suddenly, prosecuted them at first with warmth, and pushed them into execution with a most adventurous courage; but being destitute of the perseverance necessary to surmount difficulties, he often abandoned his designs, or relaxed the vigour of pur-

suit, from impatience, and sometimes from levity. Charles deliberated long and determined with coolness; but having once fixed his plan, he adhered to it with inflexible obstinacy, and neither danger nor discouragement could turn him aside from the execution of it. The success of their enterprizes was as different as their characters, and was uniformly influenced by them. Francis, by his impetuous activity, often disconcerted the Emperor's best laid schemes; Charles, by a more calm but steady prosecution of his designs, checked the rapidity of his rival's career, and baffled or repulsed his most vigorous efforts. The former, at the opening of a war or of a campaign, broke in upon his enemy with the violence of a torrent, and carried all before him; the latter, waiting until he saw the force of his rival begin to abate, recovered in the end not only all that he had lost, but made new acquisitions. Few of the French Monarch's attempts towards conquest, whatever promising aspect they might wear at first, were conducted to an happy issue; many of the Emperor's enterprizes, even after they appeared desperate and impracticable, terminated in the most prosperous manner. Francis was dazzled with the splendour of an undertaking; Charles was allured by the prospect of its turning to his advantage.

BOOK IX.

1547.

THE degree, however, of their comparative merit and reputation has not been fixed either by a strict scrutiny into their abilities for government, or by an impartial consideration of the greatness and success of their undertakings; and Francis is one of those Monarchs who occupies a higher rank in the temple of Fame, than either his talents or performances entitle him to hold. This pre-eminence he owed to many different circumstances. The superiority which Charles acquired by the victory of Pavia, and which from that period he preserved through the remainder of his reign, was so manifest, that Francis's struggle against his exorbitant and growing dominion was viewed by most of the other powers, not only with the partiality which naturally arises for those who gallantly maintain an unequal contest, but with the favour due to one who was resisting a common enemy, and endeavouring to set bounds to a Monarch equally formidable to them all. The characters of Princes, too, especially among their contemporaries, depend not only upon their talents for government, but upon their qualities as men. Francis, notwithstanding the many errors conspicuous in his foreign policy and domestick administration, was nevertheless humane, beneficent, generous. He possessed dignity without pride; affability free from meanness; and courtesy exempt from deceit. All

who had access to him, and no man of merit was ever denied that privilege, respected and loved him. Captivated with his personal qualities, his subjects forgot his defects as a Monarch, and admiring him as the most accomplished and amiable gentleman in his dominions, they hardly murmured at acts of male-administration, which, in a Prince of less engaging dispositions, would have been deemed unpardonable. This admiration, however, must have been temporary only, and would have died away, with the courtiers who bestowed it; the illusion arising from his private virtues must have ceased, and posterity would have judged of his publick conduct with its usual impartiality; but another circumstance prevented this, and his name hath been transmitted to posterity with increasing reputation. Science and the arts had, at that time, made little progress in France. They were just beginning to advance beyond the limits of Italy, where they had revived, and which had hitherto been their only seat. Francis took them immediately under his protection, and vied with Leo himself, in the zeal and munificence with which he encouraged them. He invited learned men to his court, he conversed with them familiarly, he employed them in business, he raised them to offices of dignity, and honoured them with his confidence. That race of men, not more prone to complain when denied the respect to which they fancy themselves

BOOK IX.

1547.

BOOK IX. entitled, than apt to be pleased when treated
 1547. with the distinction which they consider as their due, thought they could not exceed in gratitude to such a benefactor, and strained their invention, and employed all their ingenuity in panegyrick. Succeeding authors, warmed with their descriptions of Francis's bounty, adopted their encomiums, and refined upon them. The appellation of Father of Letters bestowed upon Francis, hath rendered his memory sacred among historians; and they seem to have regarded it as a sort of impiety to uncover his infirmities, or to point out his defects. Thus Francis, notwithstanding his inferior abilities, and want of success, hath more than equalled the fame of Charles. The virtues which he possessed as a man, have entitled him to greater admiration and praise, than have been bestowed upon the extensive genius, and fortunate arts of a more capable, but less amiable rival.

Effects of
 Francis's
 death.

By his death, a considerable change was made in the state of Europe. Charles, grown old in the arts of government and command, had now to contend only with younger Monarchs, who could not be regarded as an equal match for him, who had stood the encounter with Henry VIII. and Francis I. and come off with honour in all those different contests. By this event, he was eased of all his disquietude, and was happy to find that he might begin with safety those

operations against the Elector of Saxony, which he had hitherto been obliged to suspend. He knew the abilities of Henry II. who had just mounted the throne of France, to be greatly inferior to those of his father, and foresaw that he would be so much occupied for some time in displacing the late King's ministers, whom he hated, and in gratifying the ambitious demands of his own favourites, that he had nothing to dread, either from his personal efforts, or from any confederacy which this unexperienced Prince could form.

Book IX.

1547.

BUT as it was uncertain how long such an interval of security might continue, Charles determined instantly to improve it: and as soon as he heard of Francis's demise, he began his march from Egra on the borders of Bohemia. But the departure of the papal troops, together with the retreat of the Flemings, had so much diminished his army, that sixteen thousand men were all he could assemble. With this inconsiderable body he set out on an expedition, the event of which was to decide what degree of authority he should possess from that period in Germany: but as this little army consisted chiefly of the veteran Spanish and Italian bands, he did not, in trusting to them, commit much to the decision of chance; and even with so small a force he had reason to entertain the most sanguine

Charles
marches a-
gainst the
Elector of
Saxony.
April 13.

[Book IX. 1547. hopes of success. The Elector, it is true, had levied an army greatly superior in number, but neither the experience and discipline of his troops, nor the abilities of his officers, were to be compared with those of the Emperor. The Elector, besides, had already been guilty of an error, which deprived him of all the advantage which he might have derived from his superiority in number, and was alone sufficient to have occasioned his ruin. Instead of keeping his forces united, he detached one great body towards the frontiers of Bohemia, in order to facilitate his junction with the malecontents of that kingdom, and cantoned a considerable part of what remained in different places of Saxony, where he expected the Emperor would make the first impression, vainly imagining that these open towns, with small garrisons, might be rendered tenable against an enemy.

Progress of
his arms.

THE Emperor entered the southern frontier of Saxony, and attacked Altorf upon the Elster. The folly of the measure which the Elector had taken was immediately seen, the troops posted in that town surrendering without resistance; and those in all the other places between that and the Elbe, either imitated their example, or fled as the Imperialists approached. Charles, that they might not recover from the panick with which they seemed to be struck, advanced with-
out

out losing a moment. The Elector, who had fixed his head quarters at Meissen, continued in his wonted state of fluctuation and uncertainty. He even became more undetermined, in proportion as the danger drew near, and called for prompt and decisive resolutions. Sometimes he acted, as if he had resolved to defend the banks of the Elbe, and to hazard a battle with the enemy, as soon as the detachments which he had called in were able to join him. At other times, he abandoned this as rash and perilous, seeming to adopt the more prudent counsels of those who advised him to endeavour at protracting the war, and for that end to retire under the fortifications of Wittemberg, where the Imperialists could not attack him without manifest disadvantage, and where he might wait, in safety, for the succours which he expected from Mecklenburgh, Pomerania, and the Protestant cities on the Baltic. Without fixing upon either of these plans, he broke down the bridge at Meissen, and marched along the east bank of the Elbe to Muhlberg. There he deliberated anew, and after much hesitation, adopted one of these middle schemes, which are always acceptable to feeble minds incapable of deciding. He left a detachment at Muhlberg to oppose the Imperialists, if they should attempt to pass at that place, and advancing a few miles with his main body, encamped there in expectation of the event, ac-

BOOK IX. cording to which he proposed to regulate his
1547. subsequent motions.

Passes the
Elbe.

CHARLES, meanwhile, 'pushing forward incessantly, arrived the evening of the twenty-third of April on the banks of the Elbe, opposite to Muhlberg. The river, at that place, was three hundred paces in breadth, above four feet in depth, its current rapid, and the bank possessed by the Saxons was higher than that which he occupied. Undismayed, however, by all these obstacles, he called together his general officers, and, without asking their opinions, communicated to them his intention of attempting next morning to force his passage over the river, and to attack the enemy wherever he could come up with them. They all expressed their astonishment at such a bold resolution, and even the Duke of Alva, though naturally daring and impetuous, and Maurice of Saxony, notwithstanding his impatience to crush his rival the Elector, remonstrated earnestly against it. But the Emperor, confiding in his own judgment or good fortune, paid no regard to their arguments, and gave the orders necessary for executing his design.

EARLY in the morning, a body of Spanish and Italian foot marched towards the river, and began an incessant fire upon the enemy. The

long heavy muskets used in that age, did execution on the opposite bank, and many of the soldiers, hurried on by martial ardour in order to get nearer the enemy, rushed into the stream, and advancing breast-high, fired with a more certain aim, and with greater effect. Under cover of their fire, a bridge of boats was begun to be laid for the infantry, and a peasant having undertaken to conduct the cavalry through the river by a ford with which he was well acquainted, they also were put in motion. The Saxons posted in Muhlberg endeavoured to obstruct these operations, by a brisk fire from a battery which they had erected; but as a thick fog covered all the low grounds upon the river, they could not take aim with any certainty, and the Imperialists suffered very little; at the same time the Saxons being much galled by the Spaniards and Italians, they set on fire some boats which had been collected near the village, and prepared to retire. The Imperialists perceiving this, ten Spanish soldiers instantly stript themselves, and holding their swords with their teeth, swam across the river, put to flight such of the Saxons as ventured to oppose them, saved from the flames as many boats as were sufficient to complete their own bridge, and by this spirited and successful action, encouraged their companions no less than they intimidated the enemy.

BOOK IX.

1547.

BOOK IX.

1547.

By this time, the cavalry, each trooper having a foot soldier behind him, began to enter the river, the light horse marching in the front, followed by the men at arms, whom the Emperor led in person, mounted on a Spanish horse, dressed in a sumptuous habit, and carrying a javelin in his hand. Such a numerous body struggling through a great river, in which, according to the directions of their guide, they were obliged to make several turns, sometimes treading on a firm bottom, sometimes swimming, presented to their companions, whom they left behind, a spectacle equally magnificent and interesting. Their courage, at last, surmounted every obstacle, no man betraying any symptom of fear, when the Emperor shared in the danger no less than the meanest soldier. The moment that they reached the opposite side, Charles, without waiting the arrival of the rest of the infantry, advanced towards the Saxons with the troops which had passed along with him, who, flushed with their good fortune, and despising an enemy who had neglected to oppose them, when it might have been done with such advantage, made no account of their superior numbers, and marched on as to a certain victory.

Avila, 115, a.

DURING all these operations, which necessarily consumed much time, the Elector remained inactive in his camp; and from an infatuation which appears to be so amazing, that the best informed historians impute it to the treacherous arts of his generals, who deceived him by false intelligence, he would not believe that the Emperor had passed the river, or could be so near at hand⁶. Being convinced, at last, of his fatal mistake, by the concurring testimony of eye-witnesses, he gave orders for retreating towards Wittemberg. But a German army encumbered, as usual, with baggage and artillery, could not be put suddenly in motion. They had just begun to march when the light troops of the enemy came in view, and the Elector saw an engagement to be unavoidable. As he was no less bold in action than irresolute in council, he made the disposition for battle with the greatest presence of mind, and in the most proper manner; taking advantage of a great forest to cover his wings, so as to prevent his being surrounded by the enemy's cavalry, which were far more numerous than his own. The Emperor, likewise ranged his men in order as they came up, and riding along the ranks, exhorted them with few but efficacious words to do their duty. It was with a very different spirit that the two ar-

Book IX.

1547.

Ill conduct
of the Elec-
tor.

Battle of
Muhlberg.

⁶ Camerar. ap. Freher. iii. 493. Struv. corp. hist. Germ. 1047. 1049.

BOOK IX.

1547.

mies advanced to the charge. As the day, which had hitherto been dark and cloudy, happened to clear up at that moment, this accidental circumstance made an impression on the different parties corresponding to the tone of their minds; the Saxons, surprised and disheartened, felt pain at being exposed fully to the view of the enemy; the Imperialists, being now secure that the Protestant forces could not escape from them, rejoiced at the return of sunshine, as a certain prelude of victory. The shock of battle would not have been long or doubtful, if the personal courage which the Elector displayed, together with the activity which he exerted from the moment that the approach of the enemy rendered an engagement certain, and cut off all possibility of hesitation, had not revived in some degree the spirit of his troops. They repulsed the Hungarian light horse who began the attack, and received with firmness the men at arms who next advanced to the charge; but as these were the flower of the Imperial army, were commanded by experienced officers, and fought under the Emperor's eye, the Saxons soon began to give way, and the light troops rallying at the same time and falling on their flanks, the flight became general. A small body of chosen soldiers, among whom the Elector had fought in person, still continued to defend themselves, and endeavoured to save their master by retiring

The Elector
defeated,
and taken
prisoner.

into the forest; but being surrounded on every side, the Elector, wounded in the face, exhausted with fatigue, and perceiving all resistance to be vain, surrendered himself a prisoner. He was conducted immediately towards the Emperor, whom he found just returned from the pursuit, standing on the field of battle in the full exultation of success, and receiving the congratulations of his officers, upon this complete victory obtained by his valour and conduct. Even in such an unfortunate and humbling situation, the Elector's behaviour was equally magnanimous and decent. Sensible of his condition, he approached his conqueror without any of the fullness or pride, which would have been improper in a captive; and conscious of his own dignity, he descended to no mean submission, unbecoming the high station which he held among the German Princes. "The fortune of war, said he, has made me your prisoner, most gracious Emperor, and I hope to be treated" — Here, Charles harshly interrupted him: "And am I then, at last, acknowledged to be Emperor? Charles of Ghent was the only title you lately allowed me. You shall be treated as you deserve." At these words, he turned from him abruptly with an haughty air. To this cruel repulse, the King of the Romans added reproaches in his own name, using expressions still more ungenerous and insulting. The Elec-

Book IX.

1547.

His harsh
reception by
the Empe-
ror.

BOOK IX. tor made no reply ; but, with an unaltered
 1547. countenance, which discovered neither astonish-
 ment nor dejection, accompanied the Spanish
 soldiers appointed to guard him ⁷.

Charles's
 progress
 after his
 victory.

THIS decisive victory cost the Imperialists only fifty men. Twelve hundred of the Saxons were killed, chiefly in the pursuit, and a greater number taken prisoners. About four hundred kept in a body, and escaped to Wittemberg, together with the electoral Prince, who had likewise been wounded in the action. After resting two days in the field of battle, partly to refresh his army, and partly to receive the deputies of the adjacent towns, which were impatient to secure his protection by submitting to his will, the Emperor began to move towards Wittemberg, that he might terminate the war at once, by the reduction of that city. The unfortunate Elector was carried along in a sort of triumph, and exposed every where, as a captive, to his own subjects ; a spectacle extremely afflicting to them who both honoured and loved him ; though the insult was so far from subduing his firm spirit, that it did not even ruffle the wonted tranquillity and composure of his mind.

* Sleid. hist. 426. Thuan. 136. Hortensius de Bello German. ap. Scard. vol. ii. 498. Descript. Pugnae Muhlberg. ibid. p. 509. P. Heuter. Rer. Austr. lib. xii. c. 13. p. 298.

As Wittemberg, the residence, in that age, Book IX.
of the electoral branch of the Saxon family, was 1547.
one of the strongest cities in Germany, and Invests Wit-
could not be taken, if properly defended, with- temberg.
out great difficulty, the Emperor marched
thither with the utmost dispatch, hoping that
while the consternation occasioned by his victory
was still recent, the inhabitants might imitate
the example of their countrymen, and submit
to his power, as soon as he appeared before
their walls. But Sybilla of Cleves, the Elector's
wife, a woman no less distinguished by her abi-
lities than her virtue, instead of abandoning
herself to tears and lamentation upon her hus-
band's misfortune, endeavoured by her ex-
ample as well as exhortations, to animate the
citizens. She inspired them with such resolu-
tion, that, when summoned to surrender, they
returned a vigorous answer, warning the Em-
peror to behave towards their sovereign with
the respect due to his rank, as they were deter-
mined to treat Albert of Brandenburg, who was
still a prisoner, precisely in the same manner
that he treated him. The spirit of the inhabi-
tants no less than the strength of the city seemed
now to render a siege in form necessary. After
such a signal victory it would have been disgrace-
ful not to have undertaken it, though at the same
time the Emperor was destitute of every thing
requisite for carrying it on. But Maurice re-

BOOK IX. moved all difficulties, by engaging to furnish
 1547. provisions, artillery, ammunition, pioneers, and
 whatever else should be needed. Trusting to
 this, Charles gave orders to open the trenches
 before the town. It quickly appeared, that
 Maurice's eagerness to reduce the capital of
 those dominions, which he expected as his re-
 ward for taking arms against his kinsman, and
 deserting the Protestant cause, had led him to
 promise what exceeded his power to perform.
 A battering train was, indeed, carried safely
 down the Elbe from Dresden to Wittemberg;
 but as Maurice had not sufficient force to pre-
 serve a secure communication between his ter-
 ritories and the camp of the besiegers, Count
 Mansfeldt, who commanded a body of electo-
 ral troops, destroyed a convoy of provisions and
 military stores, and dispersed a band of pioneers
 destined for the service of the Imperialists. This
 put a stop to the progress of the siege, and con-
 vinced the Emperor, that as he could not rely
 on Maurice's promises, recourse ought to be
 had to some more expeditious as well as more
 certain method of getting possession of the
 town.

The Empe-
 ror's unge-
 nerous treat-
 ment of the
 Elector.

THE unfortunate Elector was in his hands,
 and Charles was ungenerous and hard-hearted
 enough to take advantage of this, in order to
 make an experiment whether he might not bring

about his design, by working upon the tenderness of a wife for her husband, or upon the piety of children towards their parent. With this view, he summoned Sybilla a second time to open the gates, letting her know that if she again refused to comply, the Elector should answer with his head for her obstinacy. To convince her that this was not an empty threat, he brought his prisoner to an immediate trial. The proceedings against him were as irregular as the stratagem was barbarous. Instead of consulting the states of the Empire, or remitting the cause to any court, which, according to the German constitution, might have legally taken cognizance of the Elector's crime, he subjected the greatest Prince in the Empire to the jurisdiction of a court-martial, composed of Spanish and Italian officers, and in which the unrelenting Duke of Alva, a fit instrument for any act of violence, presided. This strange tribunal founded its charge upon the ban of the Empire which had been issued against the prisoner, a sentence pronounced by the sole authority of the Emperor, and destitute of every legal formality which could render it valid; but presuming him to be thereby manifestly convicted of treason and rebellion, the court-martial condemned him to suffer death by being beheaded. This decree was intimated to the Elector while amusing himself in playing at

May 10.

BOOK. IX. chefs with Ernest of Brunswick his fellow-
 1547. prisoner. He paused for a moment, though
 The Elec- without discovering any symptom either of
 tor's mag- surprise or terror; and after taking notice of
 nanimity. the irregularity as well as injustice of the Em-
 peror's proceedings; "It is easy, continued he,
 to comprehend his scheme. I must die, because
 Wittemberg will not surrender; and I shall lay
 down my life with pleasure, if, by that sacri-
 fice, I can preserve the dignity of my house,
 and transmit to my posterity the inheritance
 which belongs to them. Would to God, that
 this sentence may not affect my wife and chil-
 dren more than it intimidates me! and that they,
 for the sake of adding a few days to a life al-
 ready too long, may not renounce honours and
 territories which they were born to possess!"
 He then turned to his antagonist, whom he
 challenged to continue the game. He played
 with his usual attention and ingenuity, and hav-
 ing beat Ernest, expressed all the satisfaction
 which is commonly felt on gaining such victo-
 ries. After this he withdrew to his own apart-
 ment, that he might employ the rest of his time
 in such religious exercises as were proper in his
 situation⁹.

It was not with the same indifference, or
 composure, that the account of the Elector's

⁹ Thuan. i. 142. ⁹ Struvii corpus, 1050.

danger was received in Wittemberg. Sybilla, Book IX. who had supported with such undaunted fortitude her husband's misfortunes, while she imagined that they could reach no farther than to diminish his power or territories, felt all her resolution fail as soon as his life was threatened. Solicitous to save that, she despised every other consideration; and was willing to make any sacrifice, in order to appease an incensed conqueror. At the same time, the Duke of Cleves, the Elector of Brandenburg, and Maurice, to none of whom Charles had communicated the true motives of his violent proceedings against the Elector, interceded warmly with him to spare his life. The first was prompted to do so merely by compassion for his sister, and regard for his brother-in-law. The two other dreaded the universal reproach that they would incur, if, after having boasted so often of the ample security which the Emperor had promised them with respect to their religion, the first effect of their union with him should be the public execution of a Prince, who was justly held in reverence as the most zealous protector of the Protestant cause. Maurice, in particular, foresaw that he must become the object of detestation to the Saxons, and could never hope to govern them with tranquillity, if he were considered by them as accessory to the death of his nearest

1547.

The distress
of his family.

BOOK IX. kinsman, in order that he might obtain possession of his dominions.

1547.

His treaty
with
Charles,
by which
he surren-
ders the
Electorate;

May 19.

WHILE they, from such various motives, solicited Charles, with the most earnest importunity, not to execute the sentence; Sybilla, and his children, conjured the Elector, by letters as well as messengers, to scruple at no concession that would extricate him out of the present danger, and deliver them from their fears and anguish on his account. The Emperor, perceiving that the expedient which he had tried began to produce the effect that he intended, fell by degrees from his former rigour, and allowed himself to soften into promises of clemency and forgiveness, if the Elector would shew himself worthy of his favour by submitting to reasonable terms. The Elector, on whom the consideration of what he might suffer himself had made no impression, was melted by the tears of a wife whom he loved, and could not resist the intreaties of his family. In compliance with their repeated solicitations, he agreed to articles of accommodation, which he would otherwise have rejected with disdain. The chief of them were, that he should resign the Electoral dignity, as well for himself as for his posterity, into the Emperor's hands, to be disposed of entirely at his pleasure; that he should instantly put the Imperial troops in possession of the cities

of Wittemberg and Gotha; that he should set Book IX.
 Albert of Brandenburg at liberty without ran- 1547.
 som; that he should submit to the decrees of
 the Imperial chamber, and acquiesce in what-
 ever reformation the Emperor should make in
 the constitution of that court; that he should
 renounce all leagues against the Emperor or
 King of the Romans, and enter into no alliance
 for the future, in which they were not compre-
 hended. In return for these important conces-
 sions, the Emperor not only promised to spare
 his life, but to settle on him and his posterity
 the city of Gotha and its territories, together
 with an annual pension of fifty thousand florins
 payable out of the revenues of the electorate;
 and likewise to grant him a sum in ready money
 to be applied towards the discharge of his debts.
 Even these articles of grace were clogged with ^{and remains}
 the mortifying condition of his remaining the ^{a prisoner.}
 Emperor's prisoner during the rest of his life¹⁰.
 To the whole, Charles had subjoined, that he
 should submit to the decrees of the Pope and
 council with regard to the controverted points
 in religion; but the Elector, though he had
 been persuaded to sacrifice all the objects which
 men commonly hold to be the dearest and most
 valuable, was inflexible with regard to this
 point; and neither threats nor intreaties could

¹⁰ Sleid. 427. Thuan. i. 142. Du Mont. Corps Di-
 plom. iv. p. 11. 332.

BOOK IX. prevail to make him renounce what he deemed
 1547. to be truth, or persuade him to act in opposition to the dictates of his conscience.

Maurice put
 in possession
 of the Elec-
 toral domi-
 nions.

As soon as the Saxon garrison marched out of Wittemberg, the Emperor fulfilled his engagements to Maurice; and in reward for his merit in having deserted the Protestant cause, and having contributed with such success towards the dissolution of the Smalkaldick league, he gave him possession of that city, together with all the other towns in the electorate. It was not without reluctance, however, that he made such a sacrifice; the extraordinary success of his arms had begun to operate, in its usual manner, upon his ambitious mind, suggesting new and vast projects for the aggrandizement of his family, towards the accomplishment of which the retaining of Saxony would have been of the utmost consequence. But as this scheme was not then ripe for execution, he durst not yet venture to disclose it; nor would it have been either safe or prudent to have offended Maurice, at that juncture, by such a manifest violation of all the promises, which had seduced him to abandon his natural allies.

Negocia-
 tions with
 the Land-
 grave.

THE Landgrave, Maurice's father-in-law, was still in arms; and though now left alone to maintain the Protestant cause, was neither a feeble

feeble nor contemptible enemy. His dominions were of considerable extent; his subjects animated with zeal for the Reformation; and if he could have held the Imperialists at bay for a short time, he had much to hope from a party whose strength was still unbroken, whose union as well as vigour might return, and which had reason to depend, with certainty, on being effectually supported by the King of France. The Landgrave thought not of any thing so bold or adventurous; but being seized with the same consternation which had taken possession of his associates, he was intent, only, how to procure favourable terms from the Emperor, whom he viewed as a conqueror, to whose will there was a necessity of submitting. Maurice encouraged this tame and pacifick spirit, by magnifying, on the one hand, the Emperor's power; by boasting, on the other, of his own interest with his victorious ally; and by representing the advantageous conditions which he could not fail of obtaining by his intercession for a friend, whom he was so solicitous to save. Sometimes the Landgrave was induced to place such unbounded confidence in his promises, that he was impatient to bring matters to a final accommodation. On other occasions, the Emperor's exorbitant ambition, restrained neither by the scruples of decency, nor the maxims of justice, together with the recent and shocking proof

1547.

BOOK IX. 1547. which he had given of this in his treatment of the Elector of Saxony, came so full into his thoughts, and made such a lively impression on them, that he broke off abruptly the negotiations which he had begun; seeming to be convinced that it was more prudent to depend for safety on his own arms, than to confide in Charles's generosity. But this bold resolution, which despair had suggested to an impatient spirit, fretted by disappointments, was not of long continuance. Upon a more deliberate survey of the enemy's power, as well as his own weakness, his doubts and fears returned upon him, and together with them the spirit of negotiating, and the desire of accommodation.

The conditions prescribed by the Emperor.

MAURICE, and the Elector of Brandenburg, acted as Mediators between him and the Emperor; and after all that the former had vaunted of his influence, the conditions prescribed to the Landgrave were extremely rigorous. The articles with regard to his renouncing the league of Smalkalde, acknowledging the Emperor's authority, and submitting to the decrees of the Imperial chamber, were the same which had been imposed on the Elector of Saxony. Besides these, he was required to surrender his person and territories to the Emperor; to implore for pardon on his knees; to pay an hundred and fifty thousand crowns towards defraying

the expences of the war; to demolish the fortifications of all the towns in his dominions except one; to oblige the garrison which he placed in it to take an oath of fidelity to the Emperor; to allow a free passage through his territories to the Imperial troops as often as it shall be demanded; to deliver up all his artillery and ammunition to the Emperor; to set at liberty, without ransom, Henry of Brunswick, together with the other prisoners whom he had taken during the war; and neither to take arms himself, nor to permit any of his subjects to serve against the Emperor or his allies for the future²¹.

BOOK IX.
1547.

THE Landgrave ratified these articles, though with the utmost reluctance, as they contained no stipulation with regard to the manner in which he was to be treated, and left him entirely at the Emperor's mercy. Necessity, however, compelled him to give his assent. Charles, who had assumed the haughty and imperious tone of a conqueror, ever since the reduction of Saxony, insisted on an unconditional submission, and would permit nothing to be added to the terms which he had prescribed, that could in any degree limit the fulness of his power, or restrain him from behaving as he saw meet to-

To which
he submits.

²¹ Sleid. 430. Thuan. l. iv. 146.

BOOK IX. 1547. wards a Prince whom he regarded as absolutely at his disposal. But though he would not vouchsafe to negotiate with the Landgrave, on such a footing of equality, as to suffer any article to be inserted among those which he had dictated to him, that could be considered as a formal stipulation for the security and freedom of his person; he, or his ministers in his name, gave the Elector of Brandenburg and Maurice such full satisfaction with regard to this point, that they assured the Landgrave that Charles would behave to him in the same way as he had done to the Duke of Wurtemberg, and would allow him, whenever he had made his submission, to return to his own territories. Upon finding the Landgrave to be still possessed with his former suspicions of the Emperor's intentions, and unwilling to trust verbal or ambiguous declarations, in a matter of such essential concern as his own liberty, they sent him a bond signed by them both, containing the most solemn obligations, that if any violence whatsoever were offered to his person, during his interview with the Emperor, they would instantly surrender themselves to his sons, and remain in their hands to be treated by them in the same manner as the Emperor should treat him¹².

¹² Du Mont Corps Diplom. iv. p. 11. 336.

THIS, together with the indispensable obligation BOOK IX.
of performing what was contained in the articles of 1547.
which he had accepted, removed his doubts and He repairs
scruples, or made it necessary to get over them. to the Im-
He repaired, for that purpose, to the Imperial perial court.
camp at Hall in Saxony, where a circumstance
occurred which revived his suspicions and in-
creased his fears. Just as he was about to enter
the chamber of presence, in order to make his
publick submission to the Emperor, a copy of
the articles which he had approved of was put
into his hands, in order that he might ratify
them anew. Upon perusing them, he perceived
that the Imperial ministers had added two new
articles; one importing, that if any dispute
should arise concerning the meaning of the for-
mer conditions, the Emperor should have the
right of putting what interpretation upon them
he thought most reasonable; the other, that
the Landgrave was bound to submit implicitly
to the decisions of the council of Trent. This
unworthy artifice, calculated to surprize him
into an approbation of articles, to which he
had not the most distant idea of assenting, by
proposing them to him at a time when his mind
was engrossed and disquieted with the thoughts
of that humbling ceremony which he had to
perform, filled the Landgrave with indignation,
and made him fly out into all those violent ex-
pressions of rage to which his temper was prone.

BOOK IX. With some difficulty, the Elector of Brandenburg and Maurice prevailed at length on the Emperor's ministers to drop the former article as unjust, and to explain the latter in such a manner, that he could agree to it, without openly renouncing the Protestant religion.

The manner in which the Emperor received him.

THIS obstacle being surmounted, the Landgrave was impatient to finish a ceremony which, how mortifying soever, had been declared necessary towards his obtaining pardon. The Emperor was seated on a magnificent throne, with all the ensigns of his dignity, surrounded by a numerous train of the Princes of the Empire, among whom was Henry of Brunswick, lately the Landgrave's prisoner, and now, by a sudden reverse of fortune, a spectator of his humiliation. The Landgrave was introduced with great solemnity and advancing towards the throne, fell upon his knees. His chancellor, who walked behind him, immediately read, by his master's command, a paper which contained an humble confession of the crime whereof he had been guilty; an acknowledgment that he had merited on that account the most severe punishment; an absolute resignation of himself and his dominions to be disposed of at the Emperor's pleasure; a submissive petition for pardon, his hopes of which were founded entirely on the Emperor's clemency; and it

concluded with promises of behaving, for the future, like a subject, whose principles of loyalty and obedience would be confirmed, and would even derive new force from the sentiments of gratitude which must hereafter fill and animate his heart. While the chancellor was reading this abject declaration, the eyes of all the spectators were fixed on the unfortunate Landgrave; few could behold a Prince, so powerful as well as high-spirited, suing for mercy in the posture of a suppliant, without being touched with commiseration, and perceiving serious reflections arise in their minds upon the instability and emptiness of human grandeur. The Emperor viewed the whole transaction with an haughty unfeeling composure; and preserving a profound silence himself, made a sign to one of his secretaries to read his answer; the tenor of which was, That though he might have justly inflicted on him the grievous punishment which his crimes deserved, yet, prompted by his own generosity, moved by the solicitations of several Princes in behalf of the Landgrave, and influenced by his penitential acknowledgments, he would not deal with him according to the rigour of justice, and would subject him to no penalty that was not specified in the articles which he had already subscribed. The moment the secretary had finished, Charles turned away abruptly, without deigning to give the unhappy

BOOK IX. suppliant any sign of compassion or reconcile-
 1547. ment. He did not even desire him to rise from his knees; which the Landgrave having ventured to do unbidden, advanced towards the Emperor with an intention to kiss his hand, flattering himself, that his guilt being now fully expiated, he might presume to take that liberty. But the Elector of Brandenburg perceiving that this familiarity would be offensive to the Emperor, interposed, and desired the Landgrave to go along with him and Maurice to the Duke of Alva's apartments in the castle.

He is detained a prisoner.

HE was received and entertained by that nobleman with the respect and courtesy due to such a guest. But, after supper, while he was engaged in play, the Duke took the Elector and Maurice aside, and communicated to them, the Emperor's orders, that the Landgrave must remain a prisoner in that place under the custody of a Spanish guard. As they had not hitherto entertained the most distant suspicion of the Emperor's sincerity or rectitude of intention, their surprise was excessive, and their indignation not inferior to it, on discovering how greatly they had been deceived themselves, and how infamously abused, in having been made the instruments of deceiving and ruining their friend. They had recourse to complaints, to arguments and to intreaties, in order to save

themselves from that disgrace, and to extricate Book IX.
him out of the wretched situation into which he 1547.
had been betrayed by too great confidence in
them. But the Duke of Alva remained inflex-
ible, and pleaded the necessity of executing the
Emperor's commands. By this time it grew
late, and the Landgrave, who knew nothing of
what had passed, nor dreaded the snare in which
he was entangled, prepared for departing, when
the fatal orders were intimated to him. He
was struck dumb at first with astonishment, but
after being silent a few moments, he broke out
into all the violent expressions, which horror at
injustice accompanied with fraud naturally sug-
gests. He complained, he expostulated, he ex-
claimed; sometimes inveighing against the Em-
peror's artifices as unworthy of a great and
generous Prince; sometimes censuring the cre-
dulity of his friends in trusting to Charles's infi-
dious promises; sometimes charging them with
meanness in stooping to lend their assistance to-
wards the execution of such a perfidious and dis-
honourable scheme; and in the end he required
them to remember their engagements to his
children, and instantly to fulfil them. They,
after giving way for a little to the torrent of his
passion, solemnly asserted their own innocence
and upright intention in the whole transaction,
and encouraged him to hope, that, as soon as
they saw the Emperor, they would obtain re-

BOOK IX. dress of an injury, which affected their own
 1547. honour, no less than it did his liberty. At the
 same time, in order to sooth his rage and im-
 patience, Maurice remained with him during
 the night, in the apartment where he was con-
 fined¹³.

The Elector
 of Branden-
 burgh and
 Maurice so-
 licit in vain
 for his li-
 berty.

NEXT morning, the Elector and Maurice ap-
 plied jointly to the Emperor, representing the
 infamy to which they would be exposed through-
 out Germany, if the Landgrave were detained
 in custody; that they would not have advised,
 nor would he himself have consented to an inter-
 view, if they had suspected that the loss of his
 liberty was to be the consequence of his submis-
 sion; that they were bound to procure his re-
 lease, having plighted their faith to that effect,
 and engaged their own persons as sureties for his.
 Charles listened to their earnest remonstrances
 with the utmost coolness. As he now stood no
 longer in need of their services, they had the
 mortification to find that their former obsequi-
 ousness was forgotten, and little regard paid to
 their intercession. He was ignorant, he told
 them, of their particular or private transactions
 with the Landgrave, nor was his conduct to be
 regulated by these; though he knew well what
 he himself had promised, which was not that the

¹³ Sleid. 433. Thuan. l. iv. 147. Struv. Corp. Hist.
 Germ. ii. 1052.

Landgrave should be exempt from all restraint, but that he should not be kept a prisoner during life ¹⁴. Having said this with a peremptory and decisive tone, he put an end to the conference; and they seeing no probability, at that time, of making any impression upon the Emperor, who seemed to have taken his resolution deliberately, and to be obstinately bent on adhering to it, were obliged to acquaint the unfortunate prisoner with the ill success of their endeavours in his behalf. This disappointment

¹⁴ According to several historians of great name, the Emperor, in his treaty with the Landgrave, stipulated that he would not detain him in any prison. But in executing the deed, which was written in the German tongue, the Imperial ministers fraudulently substituted the word *ewiger*, instead of *einiger*, and thus the treaty, in place of a promise that he should not be detained in *any* prison, contained only an engagement that he should not be detained in *perpetual* imprisonment. But authors, eminent for historical knowledge and critical accuracy, have called in question the truth of this common story. The silence of Sleidan with regard to it, as well as its not being mentioned in the various memorials which he has published concerning the Landgrave's imprisonment, greatly favour this opinion. But as several books which contain the information necessary towards discussing this point with accuracy, are written in the German language, which I do not understand, I cannot pretend to inquire into this matter with the same precision, where-with I have endeavoured to settle some other controverted facts which have occurred in the course of this history. See Struv. Corp. 1052. Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 161, 162. Engl. Edition.

BOOK IX. 1547. threw him into a new and more violent transport of rage, so that to prevent his proceeding to some desperate extremity, the Elector and Maurice promised that they would not quit the Emperor, until, by the frequency and fervour of their importunity, they had extorted his consent to set him free. They accordingly renewed their solicitations a few days afterwards, but found Charles more haughty and intractable than before, and were warned that if they touched again upon a subject so disagreeable, and with regard to which he had determined to hear nothing farther, he would instantly give orders to convey the prisoner into Spain. Afraid of hurting the Landgrave by an officious or ill-timed zeal to serve him, they not only desisted, but left the court, and as they did not chuse to meet the first fallies of the Landgrave's rage upon his learning the cause of their departure, they informed him of it by a letter, wherein they exhorted him to fulfil all that he had promised to the Emperor, as the most certain means of procuring a speedy release.

His impatience under restraint.

WHATEVER violent emotions their abandoning his cause in this manner occasioned, the Landgrave's impatience to recover liberty made him follow their advice. He paid the sum which had been imposed on him, ordered his

fortresses to be razed, and renounced all alliances which could give offence. This prompt compliance with the will of the conqueror produced no effect. He was still guarded with the same vigilant severity; and being carried about, together with the degraded Elector of Saxony, wherever the Emperor went, their disgrace and his triumph was each day renewed. The fortitude as well as equanimity, with which the Elector bore these repeated insults, were not more remarkable than the Landgrave's fretfulness and impatience. His active impetuous mind could ill brook restraint; and reflection upon the shameful artifices by which he had been decoyed into that situation, as well as indignation at the injustice with which he was still detained in it, drove him often to the wildest excesses of passion.

Book IX.
1547.

THE people of the different cities, to whom Charles thus wantonly exposed those illustrious prisoners as a publick spectacle, were sensibly touched with such an insult offered to the Germanick body, and murmured loudly at this indecent treatment of two of its greatest Princes. They had soon other causes of complaint, and such as affected them more nearly. Charles proceeded to add oppression to insult, and arrogating to himself all the rights of a conqueror, exercised them with the utmost rigour. He or-

The rigour
of the Em-
peror's ex-
actions in
Germany.

BOOK IX. 1547. dered his troops to seize the artillery and military stores belonging to such as had been members of the Smalkaldick league, and having collected upwards of five hundred pieces of cannon, a great number in that age, he sent part of them into the Low Countries, part into Italy, and part into Spain, in order to spread by this means the fame of his success, and that they might serve as monuments of his having subdued a nation, hitherto deemed invincible. He then levied, by his sole authority, large sums as well upon those who had served him with fidelity during the war, as upon such as had been in arms against him; upon the former, as their contingent towards a war, which having been undertaken, as he pretended, for the common benefit, ought to be carried on at the common charge; upon the latter, as a fine by way of punishment for their rebellion. By these exactions he amassed above one million six hundred thousand crowns, a sum which appeared prodigious in the sixteenth century. But so general was the consternation which had seized the Germans upon his rapid success, and such their dread of his victorious troops, that all implicitly obeyed his commands; though, at the same time, these extraordinary stretches of power greatly alarmed a people, jealous of their privileges, and habituated during several ages to consider the Imperial authority as neither ex-

tenfive nor formidable. This difcontent and Book IX.
 refentment, how induftrioufly foever they con- 1547.
 cealed them, became univerfal; and the more
 thefe paffions were reftained and kept down for
 the prefent, the more likely were they to burft
 out foon with additional violence.

WHILE Charles gave law to the Germans like Ferdinand's
 a conquered people, Ferdinand treated his sub- encroach-
 jects in Bohemia with ftill greater rigour. That ments on
 kingdom poffeffed privileges and immunities as the liberties
 as extenfive as thofe of any nation in which the of his Bo-
 feudal institutions were eftablifhed. The hemian sub-
 prerogative of their Kings was extremely limited, jeas.
 and the crown itfelf elective. Ferdinand, when
 placed on the throne, had confirmed their liber-
 ties with every folemnity prefcribed by their
 exceffive follicitude for the fecurity of a constitu-
 tion of government to which they were extreme-
 ly attached. He foon began, however, to be
 weary of a jurifdiction fo much circumfcribed,
 and to defpife a fceptre which he could not
 tranfmit to his pofterity; and notwithstanding
 all his former engagements, he attempted to
 overturn the constitution from its foundations;
 that inftead of an elective kingdom he might
 render it hereditary. But the Bohemians were
 too high-fpirited tamely to relinquifh privileges
 which they had long enjoyed. At the fame
 time, many of them having embraced the

BOOK IX. doctrines of the Reformers, the seeds of which
1547. John Hufs and Jerome of Prague had planted
in their country about the beginning of the pre-
ceding century, the desire of acquiring religious
liberty mingled itself with their zeal for their
civil rights ; and these two kindred passions
heightening, as usual, each other's force, preci-
pitated them immediately into violent measures.
They had not only refused to serve their sove-
reign against the confederates of Smalkalde, but
having entered into a close alliance with the
Elector of Saxony, they had bound themselves,
by a solemn association, to defend their ancient
constitution; and to persist, until they should
obtain such additional grants as they thought
necessary towards perfecting the present model
of their government, or rendering it more per-
manent. They chose Caspar Phlug, a nobleman
of distinction, to be their general; and raised
an army of thirty thousand men to enforce
their petitions. But either from the weakness of
their leader, or from the dissensions in a great
unwieldy body, which, having united hastily,
was not thoroughly compacted, or from some
other unknown cause, the subsequent operations
of the Bohemians bore no proportion to the
zeal and ardour with which they took their
first resolutions. They suffered themselves to be
amused so long with negotiations and overtures
of different kinds, that before they could enter
Saxony,

Saxony, the battle of Muhlberg was fought, Book IX.
 the Elector deprived of his dignity and terri- 1547.
 tories, the Landgrave confined to close custody,
 and the league of Smalkalde entirely dissipated.
 The same dread of the Emperor's power which
 had seized the rest of the Germans, reached
 them. As soon as their sovereign approached
 with a body of Imperial troops, they instantly
 dispersed, thinking of nothing but how to atone
 for their past guilt, and to acquire some hope
 of forgiveness, by a prompt submission. But
 Ferdinand, who entered his dominions full of
 that implacable resentment which inflames Mo-
 narchs whose authority has been despised, was
 not to be mollified by the late repentance and
 involuntary return of rebellious subjects to their
 duty. He even heard, unmoved, the intreaties
 and tears of the citizens of Prague, who ap-
 peared before him in the posture of suppliants,
 and implored for mercy. The sentence which
 he pronounced against them was rigorous to ex-
 tremity; he abolished many of their privileges,
 he abridged others, and new-modelled the con-
 stitution according to his pleasure. He con-
 demned to death many of those who had been
 most active in forming the late association against
 him, and punished still a greater number with con-
 fiscation of their goods, or perpetual banishment.
 He obliged all his subjects, of every condition,
 to give up their arms to be deposited in forts

BOOK IX. where he planted garrisons; and after disarming
 1547. his people, he loaded them with new and exorbitant taxes. Thus by an ill conducted and unsuccessful effort to extend their privileges, the Bohemians not only enlarged the sphere of the royal prerogative, when they intended to have circumscribed it, but they almost annihilated those liberties which they aimed at establishing on a broader and more secure foundation¹⁵.

Diet held at
 Augsburgh.

THE Emperor, having now humbled, and, as he imagined, subdued the independent and stubborn spirit of the Germans by the terror of arms and the rigour of punishment, held a diet at Augsburgh, in order to compose finally the controversies with regard to religion, which had so long disturbed the Empire. He durst not, however, trust the determination of a matter so interesting to the free suffrage of the Germans, broken as their minds now were to subjection. He entered the city at the head of his Spanish troops, and assigned them quarters there. The rest of his soldiers he cantoned in the adjacent villages; so that the members of the diet, while they carried on their deliberations, were surrounded by the same army which had overcome their countrymen. Immediately after his publick

¹⁵ Sleid. 408. 419. 434. Thuan. l. iv. 129. 150. Struv. Corp. ii.

entry, Charles gave a proof of the violence with which he intended to proceed. He took possession by force of the cathedral, together with one of the principal churches; and his priests having, by various ceremonies, purified them from the pollution with which they supposed the unhallowed ministrations of the Protestants to have defiled them, they re-established with great pomp the rites of the Romish worship¹⁶.

THE concourse of members to this diet was extraordinary; the importance of the affairs concerning which it was to deliberate, added to the fear of giving offence to the Emperor by an absence which lay open to misconstruction, brought together almost all the Princes, nobles, and representatives of cities who had right to sit in that assembly. The Emperor, in the speech with which he opened the meeting, called their attention immediately to that point, which seemed chiefly to merit it. Having mentioned the fatal effects of the religious dissensions which had arisen in Germany, and taken notice of his own unwearied endeavours to procure a general council, which alone could provide a remedy adequate to these evils, he exhorted them to recognise its authority, and to stand to the award of an assembly, to which they had origi-

The Emperor exhorts them to submit to the General Council.

¹⁶ Sleid. 435. 437.

BOOK IX. nally appealed, as having the sole right of judgment in the case.
1547.

Various revolutions in the council.

BUT the council, to which Charles wished them to refer all their controversies, had, by this time, undergone a violent change. The fear and jealousy, with which the Emperor's first success against the confederates of Smalkalde had inspired the Pope, continued to increase. Not satisfied with attempting to retard the progress of the Imperial arms, by the sudden recall of his troops, Paul began to consider the Emperor as an enemy, the weight of whose power he must soon feel, and against whom he could not be too hasty in taking precautions. He foresaw that the immediate effect of the Emperor's acquiring absolute power in Germany, would be to render him entirely master of all the decisions of the council, if it should continue to meet in Trent. It was dangerous to allow a Monarch, so ambitious, to get the command of this formidable engine, which he might employ at pleasure to limit or overturn the papal authority. As the only method of preventing this, he determined to translate the council to some city more immediately under his own jurisdiction, and at a greater distance from the terror of the Emperor's arms, or the reach of his influence. An incident fortunately occurred, which gave this measure the appearance of being necessary.

One or two of the fathers of the council, together with some of their domesticks, happening to die suddenly, the physicans, deceived by the symptoms, or suborned by the Pope's legates, pronounced the distemper to be infectious and pestilential. Some of the prelates, struck with a panick, retired; others were impatient to be gone; and after a short consultation, the council was translated to Bologna, a city subject to the Pope. All the bishops in the Imperial interest warmly opposed this resolution, as taken without necessity, and founded on false or frivolous pretexts. All the Spanish prelates, and most of the Neapolitan, by the Emperor's express command, remained at Trent; the rest, to the number of thirty-four, accompanying the legates to Bologna. Thus a schism commenced in that very assembly, which had been called to heal the divisions of Christendom; the fathers of Bologna inveighed against those who staid at Trent, as contumacious and regardless of the Pope's authority; while the others accused them of being so far intimidated by the fears of imaginary danger, as to remove to a place where their consultations could prove of no service towards re-establishing peace and order in Germany¹⁷.

Book IX.

1547.

March II.

Translated
from Trent
to Bologna.¹⁷ F. Paul, 248, &c.

BOOK IX.

1547.

Symptoms
of disgust
between the
Pope and
Emperor.

THE Emperor, at the same time, employed all his interest to procure the return of the council to Trent. But Paul, who highly applauded his own sagacity in having taken a step which put it out of Charles's power to acquire the direction of that assembly, paid no regard to a request, the object of which was so extremely obvious. The summer was consumed in fruitless negotiations with respect to this point, the importunity of the one and the obstinacy of the other daily increasing. At last an event happened which widened the breach irreparably, and rendered the Pope utterly averse from listening to any proposal that came from the Emperor. Charles, as has been already observed, had so violently exasperated Peter Lewis Farnese, the Pope's son, by refusing to grant him the investiture of Parma and Placentia, that he had watched ever since that time with all the vigilance of resentment for an opportunity of revenging that injury. He had endeavoured to precipitate his father into open hostilities against the Emperor, and had earnestly solicited the King of France to invade Italy. His hatred and resentment extended to all those whom he knew that the Emperor favoured; he persecuted Gonzaga, governor of Milan, with ill offices and had encouraged Fiesco in his attempt upon the life of Andrew Doria, because both Gonzaga and Doria possessed a great degree of the Em-

peror's esteem and confidence. His malevolence and secret intrigues were not unknown to the Emperor, who could not be more desirous to take vengeance on him, than Gonzaga and Doria were to be employed as his instruments in inflicting it. Farnese, by the profligacy of his life, and by enormities of every kind, equal to those committed by the worst tyrants who have disgraced human nature, had rendered himself so odious, that they thought any violence whatever might be attempted against him. They soon found among his own subjects, persons who were eager, and even deemed it meritorious to lend their hands in such a service. As he, animated with the jealousy which usually possesses petty sovereigns, had employed all the cruelty and fraud, whereby they endeavour to supply their defect of power, in order to humble and extirpate the nobility subject to his government, five noblemen of the greatest distinction in Placentia, combined to avenge the injuries, which they themselves had suffered, as well as those which he had offered to their order. They formed their plan in conjunction with Gonzaga; but it remains uncertain whether he originally suggested the scheme to them, or only approved of what they proposed, and co-operated in carrying it on. They concerted all the previous steps with such foresight, conducted their intrigues

BOOK IX.

1547.

The assassi-
 nation of
 the Pope's
 son.

BOOK IX, with such secrecy, and displayed such courage
1547, in the execution of their design, that it may be
ranked among the most audacious deeds of that
Sept. 10. nature mentioned in history. One body of the
conspirators surprised, at mid-day, the gates of
the citadel of Placentia where Farnese resided,
overpowered his guards, and murdered him.
Another party of them made themselves masters
of the town, and called upon their fellow-citi-
zens to take arms, in order to re-assume their
liberty. The multitude ran towards the citadel,
from which three great guns, a signal concerted
with Gonzaga, had been fired; and before they
could guess the cause or the authors of the tu-
mult, they saw the lifeless body of the tyrant
hanging by the heels from one of the windows
of the citadel. But so universally detestable had
he become, that not one expressed any sentiment
of concern at such a sad reverse of fortune, or
discovered the least indignation at this ignomi-
nious treatment of a sovereign Prince. The
exultation at the success of the conspiracy
was general, and all applauded the actors in it,
as the deliverers of their country. The body
was tumbled into the ditch that surrounded the
citadel, and exposed to the insults of the rab-
ble; the rest of the citizens returned to their
usual occupations, as if nothing extraordinary
had happened.

BEFORE next morning, a body of troops arriving from the frontiers of the Milanese, where they had been posted in expectation of the event, took possession of the city in the Emperor's name, and reinstated the inhabitants in the possession of their ancient privileges. Parma, which the Imperialists attempted likewise to surprise, was saved by the vigilance and fidelity of the officers whom Farnese had intrusted with the command of the garrison. The death of a son whom, notwithstanding his infamous vices, Paul loved with an excess of parental tenderness, overwhelmed him with the deepest affliction; and the loss of a city of such consequence as Placentia, greatly embittered his sorrow. He accused Gonzaga, in open consistory, of having committed a cruel murder, in order to prepare the way for an unjust usurpation, and immediately demanded of the Emperor satisfaction for both; for the former, by the punishment of Gonzaga; for the latter, by the restitution of Placentia to his grandson Octavio, its rightful owner. But Charles, who, rather than quit a prize of such value, was willing, not only to expose himself to the imputation of being accessory to the crime which had given an opportunity of seizing it, but to bear the infamy of defrauding his own son-in-law of the inheritance which belonged to him, eluded all his sollicitations, and

BOOK IX.

1547.

The Imperial troops take possession of Placentia.

BOOK IX. determined to keep possession of the city, together with its territories¹⁸

The Pope courts the alliance of the French King and the Venetians.

THIS resolution, flowing from an ambition so rapacious, as to be restrained by no consideration either of decency or justice, transported the Pope so far beyond his usual moderation and caution, that he was eager to take arms against the Emperor, in order to be avenged on the murderers of his son, and to recover the inheritance wrested from his family. Conscious, however, of his own inability to contend with such an enemy, he warmly solicited the French King and the republick of Venice to join in an offensive league against Charles. But Henry was intent at that time on other objects. His ancient allies the Scots, having been defeated by the English in one of the greatest battles ever fought between these two rival nations, he was about to send a numerous body of veteran troops into that country, as well to preserve it from being conquered, as to gain the acquisition of a new kingdom to the French monarchy, by marrying his son the Dauphin to the young Queen of Scotland. An undertaking accompanied with such manifest advantages, the success of which appeared to be so certain, was not to be relin-

¹⁸ F. Paul, 257. Pallavic. 41, 42. Thuan. iv. 156. Mém. de Ribier, 59. 67. Natalis Comit. Histor. lib. iii. p. 64.

quished for the remote prospect of benefit from an alliance depending upon the precarious life of a Pope of fourscore, who had nothing at heart but the gratification of his own private resentment. Instead, therefore, of rushing headlong into the alliance proposed, Henry amused the Pope with such general professions and promises, as might keep him from any thoughts of endeavouring to accommodate his differences with the Emperor, but at the same time avoided any such engagement as might occasion an immediate rupture between Charles and himself, or precipitate him into a war for which he was not prepared. The Venetians, though much alarmed at seeing Placentia in the hands of the Imperialists, imitated the wary conduct of the French King, as it nearly resembled the spirit with which they themselves usually carried on their negotiations¹⁹.

BUT, though the Pope found that it was not in his power to kindle immediately the flames of war, he did not forget the injuries, which he was obliged for the present to endure; resentment settled deeper in his mind, and became more rancorous in proportion as he felt the difficulty of gratifying it. It was while these sen-

The diet of
Augsburgh
petitions for
the return
of the coun-
cil to Trent.

¹⁹ Mém. de Ribier, ii. 63. 71. 78. 85. 95. Paruta Istor. di Venez. 199. 203. Thuan. iv. 160.

BOOK IX. 1547. timents of enmity were in full force, and the desire of vengeance at its height, that the diet of Augsburgh, by the Emperor's command, petitioned the Pope, in name of the whole Germanick body, to enjoin the prelates who had retired to Bologna, to return again to Trent, and to renew their deliberations in that place. Charles had been at great pains in bringing the members to join in this request. Having observed a considerable variety of sentiments among the Protestants with respect to the submission which he had required to the decrees of the council, some of them being altogether intractable, while others were ready to acknowledge its right of jurisdiction upon certain conditions, he employed all his address in order to gain or to divide them. He threatened and over-awed the Elector Palatine, a weak Prince, and obnoxious to vengeance on account of the assistance which he had given to the confederates of Smalkalde. The hope of procuring liberty for the Landgrave, together with the formal confirmation of his own electoral dignity, overcame Maurice's scruples, or prevented him from opposing what he knew would be agreeable to the Emperor. The Elector of Brandenburg, less influenced by religious zeal than any Prince of that age, was easily induced to imitate their example, in assenting to all that the Emperor required. The deputies of the cities remained still to be brought over.

They were more tenacious of their principles, Book IX.
 and though every thing that could operate either 1547.
 on their hopes or fears was tried, the utmost
 that they would promise was, to acknowledge the
 jurisdiction of the council, if effectual provision
 were made for securing to the divines of all
 parties free access to that assembly, with entire
 liberty of debate; and if all points in contro-
 versy were decided according to scripture and
 the usage of the primitive church. But when
 the memorial containing this declaration was
 presented to the Emperor, he ventured to put
 in practice a very extraordinary artifice. With-
 out reading the paper, or taking any notice of
 the conditions on which they had insisted, he
 seemed to take it for granted that they had com- 0a. 29.
 plied with his demand, and gave thanks to the
 deputies for their full and unreserved submis-
 sion to the decrees of the council. The de-
 puties, though astonished at what they had
 heard, did not attempt to set him right, both
 parties being better pleased that the matter
 should remain under this state of ambiguity,
 than to push for an explanation, which must
 have occasioned a dispute, and would have led,
 perhaps, to a rupture²⁰.

HAVING obtained this seeming submission The Pope
 from the members of the diet to the authority eludes the
 demand.

²⁰ F. Paul, 259. Sleid. 440. Thuan. tom. i. 155.

BOOK IX. of the council, Charles employed that as an
 1547. argument to enforce their petition for its return
 to Trent. But the Pope, from the satisfaction
 of mortifying the Emperōr, as well as from his
 own aversion to what was demanded, resolved,
 without hesitation, that his petition should be
 rejected; though, in order to avoid the impu-
 tation of being influenced wholly by resentment,
 he had the address to throw it upon the fathers
 at Bologna, to put a direct negative upon the
 request. He referred to their consideration the
 petition of the diet, and they, ready to confirm
 Dec. 20. by their assent whatever the legates were pleased
 to dictate, declared that the council could not,
 in consistence with its dignity, return to Trent,
 unless the prelates who, by remaining there, had
 discovered a schismatick spirit, would first repair
 to Bologna, and join their brethren; and that,
 even after their junction, the council could not
 renew its consultations with any prospect of be-
 nefit to the church, if the Germans did not prove
 their intention of obeying its future decrees to
 be sincere, by yielding immediate obedience to
 those which it had already pass^d.

The Empe- THIS answer was communicated to the Empe-
 ror protests ror by the Pope, who at the same time exhorted
 against the him to comply with demands which appeared to
 council of Bologna.

²¹ F. Paul 250. Pallav. ii. 49.

be so reasonable. But Charles was better ac- BOOK IX.
 quainted with the duplicity of the Pope's cha- 1547.
 racter than to be deceived by such a gross arti-
 fice ; he knew that the prelates of Bologna durst
 utter no sentiment but what Paul inspired ; and,
 therefore , overlooking them as mere instru-
 ments in the hand of another , he considered their
 reply as a full discovery of the Pope's inten-
 tions. As he could no longer hope to acquire
 such an ascendant in the council as to render it
 subservient to his own plan, he saw it to be ne-
 cessary that Paul should not have it in his power
 to turn against him the authority of so venerable
 an assembly. In order to prevent this, he sent 1548.
 two Spanish lawyers to Bologna, who, in the January 16.
 presence of the legates , protested , That the
 translation of the council to that place had been
 unnecessary, and founded on false or frivolous
 pretexts ; that while it continued to meet there ,
 it ought to be deemed an unlawful and schisma-
 tical conventicle ; that all its decisions ought of
 course to be held as null and invalid ; and that as
 the Pope, together with the corrupt ecclesiasticks
 who depended on him , had abandoned the care
 of the church , the Emperor , as its protector,
 would employ all the power which God had
 committed to him in order to preserve it from
 those calamities with which it was threatened.
 A few days after , the Imperial ambassador at
 Rome demanded an audience of the Pope, and January 23.

BOOK IX. in prefence of all the Cardinals, as well as foreign
 1548. ministers, protested against the proceedings of
 the prelates at Bologna, in terms equally harsh
 and disrespectful ²².

The Empe-
 ror prepares
 a system, to
 serve as a
 rule of faith
 in Ger-
 many.

IT was not long before Charles proceeded to
 carry these threats, which greatly alarmed both
 the Pope and council at Bologna, into execu-
 tion. He let the diet know the ill success of his
 endeavours to procure a favourable answer to
 their petition, and that the Pope, equally re-
 gardless of their entreaties, and of his services
 to the church, had refused to gratify them by
 allowing the council to meet again at Trent;
 that, though all hope of holding this assembly
 in a place, where they might look for freedom
 of debate and judgment, was not to be given
 up, the prospect of it was, at present, distant
 and uncertain; that, in the mean time, Ger-
 many was torn in pieces by religious dissensions,
 the purity of the faith corrupted, and the minds
 of the people disquieted with a multiplicity of
 new opinions and controversies formerly un-
 known among Christians; that, moved by the
 duty which he owed to them as their sovereign,
 and to the Church as its protector, he had em-
 ployed some divines, of known abilities and

²² F. Paul, 264. Pallav. 51. Sleid. 446. Goldasti Constit.
 Imperial. i. 561.

learning,

learning, to prepare a system of doctrine, to which all should conform, until a council, such as they wished for, could be convoked. This system was compiled by Pflug, Helding, and Agricola, of whom the two former were dignitaries in the Romish church, but remarkable for their pacifick and healing spirit; the last was a Protestant divine, suspected, not without reason, of having been gained by bribes and promises, to betray or mislead his party on this occasion. The articles presented to the diet of Ratisbon in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-one, in order to reconcile the contending parties, served as a model for the present work. But as the Emperor's situation was much changed since that time, and he found it no longer necessary to manage the Protestants with the same delicacy as at that juncture, the concessions in their favour were not now so numerous, nor did they extend to points of so much consequence. The treatise contained a complete system of theology, conformable in almost every article to the tenets of the Romish church, though expressed, for the most part, in the softest words, or in scriptural phrases, or in terms of studied ambiguity. Every doctrine, however, peculiar to Popery, was retained; and all the rites, which the Protestants condemned as inventions of men introduced into the worship

BOOK IX. of God, were enjoined. With regard to two
 1548. points only, some relaxation of their rigour was granted, and some latitude in practice admitted. Such ecclesiasticks as had married, and would not put away their wives, were allowed, nevertheless, to perform all the functions of their sacred office; and those provinces which had been accustomed to partake of the cup, as well as of the bread in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, were still indulged the privilege of receiving both. Even these were declared to be concessions for the sake of peace, and granted only for a season, in compliance with the weakness or prejudices of their countrymen²³.

This which
 was called
 the Interim
 he lays be-
 fore the
 diet,
 May 15.

THIS system of doctrine, known afterwards by the name of the *Interim*, because it contained temporary regulations, which were to continue no longer in force than until a free general council could be held, the Emperor presented to the diet, with a pompous declaration of his sincere intention to re-establish tranquillity and order in the church, as well as of his hopes that their adopting these regulations would contribute greatly to bring about that desirable event. It was read in presence, according to form. As soon as it was finished, the archbishop of Mentz,

²³ F. Paul, 270. Pallav. ii. 60. Sleid. 453. 457. Struv. Corp. 1054. Goldast. Constit. Imper. i. 518.

president of the electoral college, rose up hastily, and having thanked the Emperor for his unwearied and pious endeavours in order to restore peace to the church, he, in name of the diet, signified their approbation of the system of doctrine which he had prepared, together with their resolution of conforming to it in every particular. The whole assembly was amazed at a declaration so unprecedented and unconstitutional, as well as at the Elector's presumption in pretending to deliver the sense of the diet, upon a point which had not hitherto been the subject of consultation or debate. But not one member had the courage to contradict what the Elector had said; some being overawed by fear, others remaining silent through complaisance. The Emperor held the archbishop's declaration to be a full constitutional ratification of the Interim, and prepared to enforce the observance of it, as a decree of the Empire²⁴.

BOOK IX.
1548.

and extorts
their appro-
bation of it.

DURING this diet, the wife and children of the Landgrave, warmly seconded by Maurice of Saxony, endeavoured to interest the members in behalf of that unhappy Prince, who still languished in confinement. But Charles, who did not chuse to be brought under the necessity of rejecting any request that came from such a respectable

New and
fruitless so-
licitations
for the
Landgrave's
liberty.

²⁴ Sleid. 460. F. Paul, 273. Pallav. 63.

BOOK IX. body, in order to prevent their representations,
1548. laid before the diet an account of his transactions with the Landgrave, together with the motives which had at first induced him to detain that Prince in custody, and which rendered it prudent, as he alleged, to keep him still under restraint. It was no easy matter to give any good reason for an action, incapable of being justified. But he thought the most frivolous pretexts might be produced in an assembly willing to be deceived, and afraid of nothing so much as to discover that it saw his conduct in its true colours. His account of his own conduct was accordingly admitted to be fully satisfactory, and after some feeble intreaties that he would extend his clemency to his unfortunate prisoner, the Landgrave's concerns were no more mentioned²⁵.

IN order to counterbalance the unfavourable impression which this inflexible rigour might leave in their minds, Charles, as a proof that his gratitude was no less permanent and unchangeable than his resentment, invested Maurice in the electoral dignity, with all the legal formalities. The ceremony was performed, with extraordinary pomp, in an open court, so near the apartment in which the degraded Elector was kept a prisoner, that he could view it

²⁵ Sleid. 441.

from his windows. Even this insult did not ruffle his usual tranquillity; and turning his eyes that way, he beheld a prosperous rival receiving those ensigns of dignity of which he had been stripped, without uttering one sentiment unbecoming the fortitude which he had preserved amidst all his calamities ²⁶.

IMMEDIATELY after the dissolution of the diet, the Emperor ordered the Interim to be published in the German as well as Latin language. It met with the usual reception of conciliating schemes, when proposed to men heated with dispute; both parties declaimed against it with equal violence. The Protestants condemned it as a system containing the grossest errors of Popery, disguised with so little art, that it could impose only on the most ignorant, or on those who by wilfully shutting their eyes favoured the deception. The Papists inveighed against it, as a work in which some doctrines of the church were impiously given up, others meanly concealed, and all of them delivered in terms calculated rather to deceive the unwary, than to instruct the ignorant, or to reclaim such as were enemies to the truth. While the Lutheran divines fiercely attacked it, on one hand, the general of the Do-

The Interim
equally dis-
approved of
by Protest-
ants and
Papists.

²⁶ Thuan. Hist. lib. v. 176. Struv. Corp. 1054. Investitura Mauricii a Mammerano Lucemburgo descripta ap. Scardium, ii. 508.

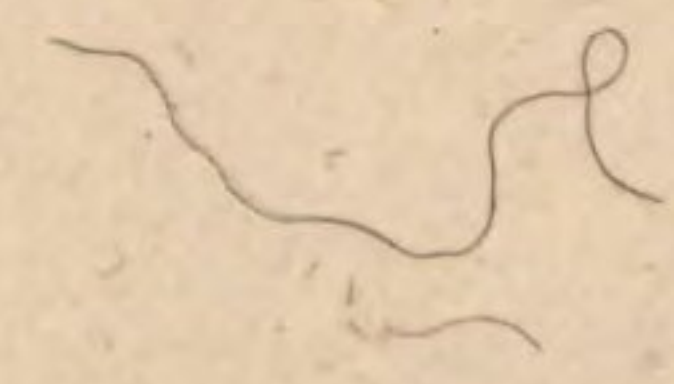
BOOK IX. minicans with no less vehemence impugned it
1548. on the other. But at Rome, as soon as the contents of the Interim came to be known, the indignation of the courtiers and ecclesiasticks rose to the greatest height. They exclaimed against the Emperor's profane encroachment on the sacerdotal function, in presuming, with the concurrence of an assembly of laymen, to define articles of faith; and to regulate modes of worship. They compared this rash deed to that of Uzzah, who, with an unhallowed hand, had touched the ark of God; or to the bold attempts of those Emperors, who had rendered their memory detestable, by endeavouring to model the Christian church according to their pleasure. They even affected to find out a resemblance between the Emperor's conduct and that of Henry VIII. and expressed their fear of his imitating the example of that apostate, by usurping the title as well as jurisdiction belonging to the head of the church. All, therefore, contended with one voice, that as the foundations of ecclesiastical authority were now shaken, and the whole fabrick ready to be overturned by a new enemy, some powerful method of defence must be provided, and a vigorous resistance must be made, at the beginning, before he grew too formidable to be opposed.

THE Pope, whose judgment was improved Book IX.
 by longer experience in great transactions, as 1548.
 well as by a more extensive observation of hu- The senti-
 man affairs, viewed the matter with more acute ments of
 discernment, and derived comfort from the very the Pope
 circumstance which filled them with apprehen- with regard
 sion. He was astonished, that a Prince of such to it.
 superior sagacity as the Emperor, should be so
 intoxicated with a single victory, as to imagine
 that he might give law to mankind, and decide
 even in those matters, with regard to which they
 are most impatient of dominion. He saw that,
 by joining any one of the contending parties in
 Germany, Charles might have had it in his
 power to have oppressed the other, but that the
 presumption of success had now inspired him
 with the vain thought of his being able to do-
 mineer over both. He foretold that a system
 which all attacked, and none defended, could
 not be of long duration; and that, for this rea-
 son, there was no need of his interposing in
 order to hasten its fall; for as soon as the
 powerful hand which now upheld it was with-
 drawn, it would sink of its own accord, and be
 forgotten for ever²⁷.

THE Emperor, fond of his own plan, adhered The Empe-
 to his resolution of carrying it into full execu- ror enforces
compliance

²⁷ Sleid. 468. F. Paul, 271. 277. Pallav. ii. 64.

BOOK IX. tion. But though the Elector Palatine, the
1548. Elector of Brandenburg, and Maurice, influ-
with the enced by the same considerations as formerly,
Interim. seemed ready to yield implicit obedience to
whatever he should enjoin, he met not every-
where with a like obsequious submission. John
Marquis of Brandenburg Anspach, although he
had taken part with great zeal in the war against
the confederates of Smalkalde, refused to re-
nounce doctrines which he held to be sacred;
and reminding the Emperor of the repeated
promises which he had given his Protestant allies
of allowing them the free exercise of their reli-
gion, he claimed, in consequence of these, to
be exempted from receiving the Interim. Some
other Princes, also, ventured to mention the
same scruples, and to plead the same indulk-
gence. But on this, as on other trying occa-
sions, the firmness of the Elector of Saxony
was most distinguished, and merited the highest
praise. Charles, well knowing the authority of
his example with all the Protestant party, la-
boured, with the utmost earnestness, to gain his
approbation of the Interim, and by employing
sometimes promises of setting him at liberty,
sometimes threats of treating him with greater
harshness, attempted alternately to work upon
his hopes and his fears. But he was alike re-
gardless of both. After having declared his
fixed belief in the doctrines of the Reformation



"I cannot now, said he, in my old age, abandon the principles, for which I early contended; nor, in order to procure freedom during a few declining years, will I betray that good cause, on account of which I have suffered so much, and am still willing to suffer. Better for me to enjoy, in this solitude, the esteem of virtuous men, together with the approbation of my own conscience, than to return into the world, with the imputation and guilt of apostacy, to disgrace and embitter the remainder of my days." By this magnanimous resolution, he set his countrymen a pattern of conduct, so very different from that which the Emperor wished him to have exhibited to them, that it drew upon him fresh marks of his displeasure. The rigour of his confinement was increased; the number of his servants abridged; the Lutheran clergymen, who had hitherto been permitted to attend him, were dismissed; and even the books of devotion, which had been his chief consolation during a tedious imprisonment, were taken from him²³. The Landgrave of Hesse, his companion in misfortune, did not maintain the same constancy. His patience and fortitude were both so much exhausted by the length of his confinement, that, willing to purchase freedom at any price, he wrote to the Emperor, offering not only to approve of the Interim, but to yield an

²³ Sleid. 462.

BOOK IX. unreserved submission to his will in every other
 1548. particular. But Charles, who knew that whatever course the Landgrave might hold, neither his example nor authority would prevail on his children or subjects to receive the Interim, paid no regard to his offers. He was kept confined as strictly as ever; and while he suffered the cruel mortification of having his conduct set in contrast to that of the Elector, he derived not the smallest benefit from the mean step which exposed him to such deserved censure²⁹.

The free-
 cities strug-
 gle against
 receiving
 the Interim.

BUT it was in the Imperial cities that Charles met with the most violent opposition to the Interim. These small commonwealths, the citizens of which were accustomed to liberty and independence, had embraced the doctrines of the Reformation when first published, with remarkable eagerness; the bold spirit of innovation being peculiarly suited to the genius of free government. Among them, the Protestant teachers had made the greatest number of profelytes. The most eminent divines of the party were settled there as pastors. By having the directions of the schools and other seminaries of learning, they had trained up disciples, as well instructed in the articles of their faith, as zealous to defend them. Such persons were not to

²⁹ Sleid. 462.

be guided by example, or swayed by authority; but having been taught to examine and to decide in matters of controversy, thought that they were both qualified and entitled to judge for themselves. As soon as the contents of the Interim were known, they, with one voice joined in refusing to admit it. Augsburgh, Ulm, Straßburgh, Constance, Bremen, Magdeburgh, together with many other towns of less note, presented remonstrances to the Emperor, setting forth the irregular and unconstitutional manner in which the Interim had been enacted, and beseeching him not to offer such violence to their consciences, as to require their assent to a form of doctrine and worship, which appeared to them repugnant to the express precepts of the divine law. But Charles, having prevailed on so many Princes of the Empire to approve of his new model, was not much moved by the representations of those cities, which, how formidable soever they might have proved, if they could have been formed into one body, lay so remote from each other, that it was easy to oppress them separately, before it was possible for them to unite.

IN order to accomplish this, the Emperor saw it to be requisite that his measures should be vigorous, and executed with such rapidity as to allow no time for concerting any common plan of opposition. Having laid down this maxim

Compelled
by violence
to submit.

BOOK IX.

1548.

BOOK IX. as the rule of his proceedings, his first attempt
1548. was upon the city of Augsburgh, which, though
over-awed by the presence of the Spanish troops,
he knew to be as much dissatisfied with the Interim as any in the Empire. He ordered one
body of these troops to seize the gates; he posted
the rest in different quarters of the city; and
Aug. 3. assembling all the burghesses in the town, he, by
his sole absolute authority, published a decree
abolishing their present form of government,
dissolving all their corporations and fraternities,
and nominating a small number of persons, in
whom he vested for the future the right of administration. Each of the persons, thus chosen,
took an oath to observe the Interim. An act of
power, so unprecedented as well as arbitrary,
which excluded the body of the inhabitants from
any share in the government of their own community, and subjected them to men who had no
other merit than their servile devotion to the Emperor's will, gave general disgust; but as they
durst not venture upon resistance, they were
obliged to submit in silence³⁹. From Augsburgh,
in which he left a garrison, he proceeded to
Ulm, and new modelling its government with
the same violent hand, he seized such of their
pastors as refused to subscribe the Interim, committed them to prison, and at his departure car-

³⁹ Sleid. 469.

ried them along with him in chains³¹. By this BOOK IX.
 severity he not only secured the reception of 1548.
 the Interim in two of the most powerful cities,
 but gave warning to the rest what such as con-
 tinued refractory had to expect. The effect of
 the example was as great as he could have
 wished, and many towns, in order to save them-
 selves from the like vengeance, found it neces-
 sary to comply with what he enjoined. This
 obedience, extorted by the rigour of authori-
 ty, produced no change in the sentiments of
 the Germans, and extended no farther than to
 make them conform so far to the letter of the
 law, as was barely sufficient to screen them from
 punishment. Their preachers accompanied those
 ceremonies, the observation of which the Interim
 prescribed, with such an explication of their
 tendency, as served rather to confirm than to
 remove the scruples of their hearers with regard
 to them. The people, many of whom had
 grown up to mature years since the establishment
 of the reformed religion, and had been accus-
 tomed to no other form of publick worship, be-
 held the pompous pageantry of the popish ser-
 vice with contempt or horror; and in most
 places the Romish ecclesiastics, who returned to
 take possession of their churches, could hardly
 be protected from insult, or their ministrations
 from interruption. Thus, notwithstanding the

³¹ Sleid. 472.

Book IX. 1548. apparent compliance of so many cities, the inhabitants being accustomed to freedom, submitted with reluctance to the power which now oppressed them. Their understanding as well as inclination revolted against the doctrines and rites imposed on them; and though, for the present, they concealed their indignation and resentment, it was evident that these passions could not always be kept under restraint, but would break out at last in effects proportional to their violence ³².

The Pope
dismisses the
Council as-
sembled at
Bologna.

Sept. 17.

CHARLES, meanwhile, highly pleased with having bended the stubborn spirit of the Germans to such general submission, departed for the Low Countries, fully determined to compel the cities, which still stood out, to receive the Interim. He carried his two prisoners, the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse along with him, either because he durst not leave them behind him in Germany, or because he wished to give his countrymen, the Flemings this illustrious proof of the success of his arms, and the extent of his power. Before Charles arrived at Brussels he was informed that the Pope's legates at Bologna had dismissed the council by an indefinite prorogation, and that the prelates assembled there had returned to their respective

³² Mém. de Ribier, ii. 218. Sleid. 491.

countries. Necessity had driven the Pope into Book IX.
this measure. By the secession of those who 1548.
had voted against the translation, together with
the departure of others, who grew weary of con-
tinuing in a place where they were not suffered
to proceed to business; so few and such incon-
siderable members remained, that the pompous
appellation of a General Council could not,
with decency, be bestowed any longer upon
them. Paul had no choice but to dissolve an
assembly which was become the object of con-
tempt, and exhibited to all Christendom a most
glaring proof of the impotence of the Romish
See. But unavoidable as the measure was, it
lay open to be unfavourably interpreted, and
had the appearance of withdrawing the remedy
at the very time when those for whose recovery
it was provided, were prevailed on to acknow-
ledge its virtue, and to make trial of its efficacy.
Charles did not fail to put this construction
on his conduct; and by an artful comparison of
his own efforts to suppress heresy, with Paul's
scandalous inattention to a point so essential, he
endeavoured to render the Pontiff odious to all
zealous Catholics. At the same time, he com-
manded the Prelates of his faction to remain at
Trent, that the Council might still appear to
have a being, and might be ready, whenever it

BOOK IX. was thought expedient, to resume its deliberations for the good of the church³³.
1548.

The Empe-
ror receives
his son
Philip in
the Low-
Countries.

THE motive of Charles's journey to the Low Countries, beside gratifying his favourite passion of travelling from one part of his dominions to another, was to receive Philip his only son, who was now in the twenty-first year of his age, and whom he had called thither, not only that he might be recognized by the States of the Netherlands as heir-apparent, but in order to facilitate the execution of a vast scheme, the object of which, and the reception it met with, shall be hereafter explained. Philip, having left the government of Spain to Maximilian, Ferdinand's eldest son, to whom the Emperor had given the Princess Mary his daughter in marriage, embarked for Italy attended by a numerous retinue of Spanish nobles³⁴. The squadron which escorted him, was commanded by Andrew Doria, who, notwithstanding his advanced age, insisted on the honour of performing, in person, the same duty to the son, which he had often discharged towards the father. He landed safely at Genoa; from thence he went to Milan, and proceeding through Germany, arrived at the Imperial court in Brussels. The States of Brabant, in the first place,

Nov. 25.

1549.
April 1.

³³ Pallav. p. 11. 72.

³⁴ Ochoa, Carolea, 362.
and

and those of the other provinces in their order BOOK IX.
 acknowledged his right of succession in common 1548.
 form, and he took the customary oath to preserve all their privileges inviolate³⁵. In all the towns of the Low countries through which Philip passed, he was received with extraordinary pomp. Nothing that could express the respect of the people, or contribute to his amusements was neglected; pageants, tournaments, and publick spectacles of every kind were exhibited with that expensive magnificence which commercial nations display, when, on any occasion, they depart from their usual maxims of frugality. But amidst these scenes of festivity and pleasure, Philip's natural severity of temper was discernible. Youth itself could not render him agreeable, nor his being a candidate for power form him to courtesy. He maintained a haughty reserve in his behaviour and discovered such manifest partiality towards his Spanish attendants, together with such an avowed preference to the manners of their country, as highly disgusted the Flemings, and gave rise to that antipathy, which afterwards occasioned the revolution so fatal to him in that part of his dominions³⁶.

³⁵ Haræi annal. Brabant. 652.

³⁶ Mém. de Ribier, ii. 29. L'Evesque Mém. du Card. Granvelle, i. 21.

BOOK IX.

1548.

CHARLES was long detained in the Netherlands by a violent attack of the gout, which returned upon him so frequently, and with such increasing violence, that it had broken to a great degree the vigour of his constitution. He, nevertheless, did not slacken his endeavours to enforce the Interim. The inhabitants of Strasbourg, after a long struggle, found it necessary to give obedience; those of Constance, who had taken arms in their own defence, were compelled by force not only to conform to the Interim but to renounce their privileges as a free city, to do homage to Ferdinand as Archduke of Austria, and, as his vassals, to admit an Austrian governor and garrison³⁷. Magdeburgh, Bremen, Hamburgh, and Lubeck were the only Imperial cities of note that still continued refractory.

³⁷ Sleid. 474. 491.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

Robertson, William, 1721-1793

The History Of The Reign Of The Emperor Charles V

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